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EDITORIAL

Leo Shapiro

"Integration and evaluation Evaluation and integration. That is all you people in intercultural education talk about."

So a public-relations director of a large school system remarked in mock petulance a short time ago. It appeared that she had become a bit tired of the constant needling she and her school system were getting with respect to the twin problems which she mentioned. In a way she was right—but only in a way. To be sure, many of us interculturalists talk a great deal about evaluation and integration. But usually this is precisely our limitation: we *talk* about evaluation and integration in the curriculum, but so few of us really do anything.

The purpose of this issue is frankly exploratory. We have brought together several people who have been concerned with evaluation in intercultural education for some time, and who have tried to do something significant about it. We have attacked the problem from various points of view: of a person interested in the philosophy of education; an educational agency working with school systems or teacher-training institutions, what a secondary school can do in the field; or what a civic or social agency can do. There has been no effort at integrating or

synthesizing the various points of view. Rather we have tried, intentionally and purposely, to be inductive in our plan; that is, to have the subject attacked from these various points of view and then to see what we come out with as an end product.

What, after all, is evaluation? It is the acid test of the effectiveness of our educational work in intercultural education and in every other phase of the educational process. Perhaps the most significant thing which comes out of these reports is that they seem to be unanimous in positing the *need* for evaluation. One or two suggest this need by implication; but throughout every essay one finds the recurrent theme of the importance of more scientific and more precise theory and practice in intercultural education, and, more specifically, in evaluation. In a certain sense, this issue will have served an important purpose if it does nothing more than underline this crucial need. It may seem to some—although it should not—that to be concerned at this time of emergency with method and technique and objectives is the height of impracticality; but when one considers for a moment or two how much time and resources have been squandered by well-intentioned people, on and off university campuses, who have tried to work in human relations without adequate tools, one realizes that the need for better tools and better science is becoming more imperative daily.

The analyses that follow should make people and agencies working in the field of human relations concerned about just where they are going in their work. It should give us all a keen desire to probe deeply into our method and operations, and to subject even our pet assumptions and projects to the most rigorous and remorseless evaluation. As many of these educators indicate, such evaluation must mean much, much more than merely a before-and-after test, regardless of how ingenious this sort of device may be. It must be an organic component of the educational process itself, arising inevitably out of that process.

and involving the participation of all who properly should be concerned.

We have arrived at the stage where we are talking about need. The need for evaluation is crucial, quite probably the primary gap in our work. It should be no news to those concerned with better education that, *as we work conscientiously and constantly to improve our theory and method, our operations and results will increasingly become more effective and more rewarding.*

Leo Shapiro is the Director, Department of Education, Anti Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and Lecturer in Education, School of Education, New York University.

AN INDUCTIVE APPROACH TO INTERCULTURAL VALUES

Theodore Brameld

In the degree that intercultural education has been identified during the past decade in America with the larger movement called progressive education, it tends quite plausibly to reflect both the strengths and weaknesses of that larger movement. While strengths are many indeed, one weakness of the latter is a tendency sometimes to gloss over the necessity of basic philosophic analysis: progressivists are so eager to *get going* with their fine plans for turning education into practical, active experiences that they frequently seem impatient with the continuous importance of clarifying and explicating their own premises.

More specifically with regard to value theory, one often hears it said, for example, that intercultural education rests upon such beliefs as "the brotherhood of man" or "the dignity of personality" or "the great democratic tradition of equality and freedom." Once these clichés are uttered, however, the topic of values ends. Apparently this is enough to satisfy many practitioners; hence they move on immediately to the "important" business of implementation.

Now it is obvious that we cannot on every occasion stop to re-examine the meaning and dependability of these clichés. We nevertheless are guilty often not merely of negligence, but of gravely weakening the entire structure we are trying to erect. For no structure is stronger than its foundations. When we ignore or merely assume that our foundation of values is entirely reliable so long as it consists of pleasant-sounding phrases with which few would quarrel, we threaten the whole program and purpose of intercultural relations. We are little better than the indoctrinators of religious or political absolutism: they too

proceed from uncriticized premises; they too contribute to a weak culture in that its members have never learned, through the dialectic of self-criticism and opposition, whether their own beliefs are really healthy and strong

The question of whether the philosophy of progressivism, when we are patient enough to study it, does provide an adequate theory of value is a technical question which need not especially concern us here. Undoubtedly its most profound thinkers—John Dewey particularly—contribute richly to such a theory. What is now overdue, however, is a concerted effort at reformulation in terms appropriate to a period already passing the period of history of which Dewey's pragmatic liberalism is the highest symbol. In this brief article it is only possible to suggest some of the avenues of exploration toward that objective.

The problem, so far as intercultural relations are concerned, is this. If you and I say that we regard as immoral the exploitations, discriminations, and segregations suffered by Negroes or Jews or Mexican-Americans, *why* most basically do we? Clearly, many others do not, for which they also must have reasons. Clearly, also, we should be able to show to ourselves and others why we support the kind of human order where exploitations, discriminations, and segregations would completely disappear; and where, in their place, people of all colors, nationalities, and religions enjoy the same rights, privileges, and opportunities at every time and every place.

To fall back upon the doctrine of innate rights, or the authority of the Bible, or Scholastic reasoning which "proves" that equality is a self-evident principle, is little if any improvement over the kind of "lip service" which progressivists themselves repeatedly and monotonously offer to "the dignity of man." All such answers are question-begging and accordingly dangerous.

An alternative is to begin with no preconceived statement of values whatever, but rather to inquire of ourselves what we are

most eagerly striving for. Even little children are perfectly capable of probing into their own drives, needs, and wants, and of answering in their own terms. Surely then it is not impractical for older students and adults to do so. Without at first going beyond our own experience, we can, if we try, articulate at least certain of our own deepest desires, and by communicating these we can refine our meanings to ourselves.

Moreover, as we continue moving from the more obvious physiological to the more subtle psychological levels, we can and should call upon the sciences of man to help us in our search. Psychology is of course essential, and if we turn to experts like Kurt Lewin, who have themselves approached human nature from the viewpoint of its dynamic, patterned quality, we find heavy support for an approach to ourselves as, first of all, "goal-seeking animals." Psychology, however, is by no means enough—until, at least, it is fused with the sciences of man in his relations with other men: economics, politics, sociology, and anthropology are especially fundamental. From W. I. Thomas we find support for the desire we have for security, new experiences, response, and recognition. From Robert S. Lynd we are more able to recognize the nature of our "cravings" even for such seemingly elusive satisfactions as "a natural tempo and rhythm" or a "sense of fairly immediate meaning." From social psychiatrists like Karen Horney we sense more clearly that often our frustrations are, at bottom, blockages in the way of goal seeking and goal winning, which derive not merely (as Freud would have it) from suppression of the id, but from the confusions and scarcities of a disintegrating culture.

The task of approaching the problem of values inductively is further complicated, however, by the question: "Who are *we*?" More specifically in terms of intercultural relations, one of the most common and most potent of arguments against, say, racial equalitarianism is that great numbers of people in

the world simply do not have this range of drives and wants which you and I—of the educated minority—may concede that we have. Granting, for example, that sexual satisfaction is virtually a universal want, how can it possibly be argued that the want of recognition or fairly immediate meaning is universal? And if it cannot be proved that our pattern of goal seeking is common to others, are we not simply trying to impose that pattern upon dissimilar people? Are we not, after all, pretty much like the “do-gooder” missionaries who aim to embrace the reluctant heathen within their own dogmatic faith?

In answer to these questions, it is necessary to admit frankly that neither religion nor science has established once and for all the precise number or order or quality of wants among diverse peoples. Indeed, since the whole history of human beings and of the cultures within which they live prove the pliability of goal-seeking proclivities, we must concede that such establishment is, in any case, impossible. All that can be shown, at the most, is about four important facts concerning who *we* are—whether a merely sophisticated (if not supercilious) minority, or a reasonably large majority of the races and nations of the world.

First, then, science, and especially anthropology, again assists enormously in showing that, among all our differences, we do possess a striking number of similar wants and of similarly organized efforts to satisfy them. (Just one citation here: “The Common Denominator of Cultures” by Murdock, in *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, edited by Linton.)

Second, these common denominators, however few in radically different periods of history, tend to multiply today as acculturation and assimilation accelerate through the impact of such technological inventions as communication and transportation. In other words, it is a reasonably safe conjecture that as more and more people learn more and more about one another, they

approach closer to a minimum pattern of similar wants. Such a pattern is temporal and cultural, not eternal or metaphysical, to be sure. But that is all we can properly expect.

Third, the equally evident fact that disagreement about wants is still widespread by no means proves that this disagreement is insoluble. Rather, all it may prove is that, thus far, civilization has failed to provide facilities by which agreement might be achieved. If, for example, Jeter Lester of *Tobacco Road* seems quite satisfied with a diet of turnips, does this mean that here is in fact his entire goal of food satisfaction? Or does it simply mean that he has never learned enough either about the meaning of adequate diet, or of the possibility of winning such a diet for himself and his children, to know what he actually wants? By the same token, can the Negro hater be right in his contention that shiftlessness is more satisfying to Negroes than initiative and neatness, so long as he does everything in his power to prevent fair testing of the latter alternative? These questions may seem rhetorical to the informed, yet they are crucial to the approach we are now sketching.

Fourth, and following more or less directly from the above three points, the assertion that *our* wants and their satisfaction are therefore also *common* wants claims no more than that they are, or probably could be, those of the *majority*. No matter how seemingly universal a want may be, some individual or group may deny its presence—a denial resulting either from an insistence that the majority simply has failed to recognize its own goal-seeking interests accurately at some point, or from the sheer stubbornness or fanaticism of some individual or group. In either case, there is no way, so long as the democratic process functions in value formulation, by which the dissenting minority can or should be coerced into agreement. As a matter of fact, the minority may conceivably be right. If, as we assume, wants are empirical, and we learn and relearn about them con-

tinuously, then we of the majority may need to be convinced that a meaning we previously attached to a certain want has been quite fallacious. But even if the minority is wrong, and it is denying agreement from ulterior motives, we shall have to admit there is no way of finally *proving* it wrong. The subjective element in human wants makes it possible for anyone to deny his existence simply by insisting that he has no such experience as the majority has

We come, then, to the inference that *the final criterion of intercultural values is the social consensus that can be attained about them*. This criterion, as implied, has at least three essential steps in its complete application: (a) maximum presentation of evidence (especially of science, but also of art, history, religion, and all other spheres of human achievement) about what people want; (b) maximum communication of that evidence—a world-wide process which, of course, increases the exactitude of the evidence itself; and (c) maximum agreement among the widest possible range of people that, upon the basis of this evidence and communication, these are indeed the wants we most deeply seek to satisfy

Many questions remain, of course. Values (or, we now see, want satisfactions) overlap, ramify, and sometimes appear contradictory. Also, they are so multiple that we need to ask whether they can be synthesized around some great normative generalization—whether, for example, *self-realization* (regarded in a social as well as individual context) could not be accepted as this kind of inductive outcome, and therefore be recognized as a meaningful summary of many particular values

Educationally, we should be concerned with the problem of how this necessarily abstract statement can be translated into effective intercultural understanding. Here is a question, however, that requires far more extensive treatment than we are now permitted. That a beginning should be made in the elemen-

tary school is obvious, for to inculcate the old ethical dogmas uncritically then is to make it well-nigh impossible for the secondary school to undo that inculcation later. Far better, it seems, would be the effort to avoid all use of such dogmas, and to substitute the richest possible experience with the meaning of wants among the widest range of children. In the secondary school, however, systematic examination of the nature of values is practical—in the earlier years as part of larger, functional projects, in the later years as specific units in value formulation. Yet even such units need not and should not become typically academic. Beginning with the living situations of young people wherever they are, they can gradually broaden to encompass the situations of their parents, community citizens, and finally of peoples of distant places. That it can be done is certain, for it has been done by the writer and by others, not only on the high-school but on the college and adult levels as well.

And when it is done, is the social consensus always identical, always unanimous? Of course it is not. To a remarkable extent, however, that consensus, epitomized by self-realization, may be stated like this:

Most men do not want to be hungry they cherish the value of *sufficient nourishment*.

Most men do not want to be cold or ragged they cherish the value of *adequate dress*.

Most men do not want uncontrolled exposure either to the elements or to people; they cherish the value of *shelter* and *privacy*.

Most men do not want celibacy they cherish the value of *sexual expression*.

Most men do not want illness they cherish the value of *physiological and mental health*.

Most men do not want chronic insecurity they cherish the value of *steady work, steady income*.

Most men do not want loneliness they cherish the value of *companionship, mutual devotion, belongingness*.

Most men do not want indifference: they cherish the value of *recognition, appreciation, status*.

Most men do not want constant drudgery, monotony, or routine: they cherish the value of *novelty, curiosity, variation, recreation, adventure, growth, creativity*.

Most men do not want ignorance: they cherish the value of *literacy, skill, information*.

Most men do not want continual domination: they cherish the value of *participation, sharing*.

Most men do not want bewilderment: they cherish the value of *fairly immediate meaning, significance, order, direction*.

Theodore Brameld is Professor of the Philosophy of Education, School of Education, New York University.

BASIC PURPOSES AND PROBLEMS IN EVALUATION OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

H. H. Giles

The late L. C. Lord, President of Eastern Illinois State Teachers College, used to describe the investigations made for accrediting of colleges: "They count the income and the books, they measure floor and window space, they ask how many Ph.D.'s we have on the faculty, they find out everything about us except whether we are a good school."

Alexander Shodorof, with reference to the same point, has written to me:

It is obvious that statistical treatment, originated to describe the quality of agricultural products by quantitative methods, has proved itself a useful tool. However, to confuse the measurement of a field of grain with the measurement of human development is not a credit to the intelligence. It may be that there was a time in the dark ages previous to the present century when human personality could be considered a fit subject for the methods of physical science. Since Dewey, at the least since Einstein and the electronic microscope, there can be no excuse for perpetuating in this regard, the illusion of "exact" measurement or "objective" tests.

These two statements indicate the central problem in evaluation of intercultural education: how to devise methods for getting at the things that matter, and that do not readily reveal themselves through the gross approximations reached by weighing and counting with numbers.

This becomes a central problem, however, only after the acceptance of the imperative to evaluate, a requirement which has been honored in the breach rather than the observance. This has occurred for many years, by hundreds of organizations, and millions of men. These bodies and persons of good will have spent great quantities of effort and money with the best intentions of promoting human brotherhood. The effects, un-

fortunately, have not been shown to be in proportion to the effort—in fact, they have not been shown in a great many cases.

It is clear that the accomplishment of a purpose is the best measure of success. This requires a clear definition of purpose, and a point of vantage from which to judge its attainment. If the purpose is to make a table to eat on, it is a relatively simple matter to fulfill both conditions. If the purpose, however, is so vast and protean as “to develop unity and understanding among all cultural groups,” it is another and a titanic job even to approximate the conditions of satisfactory evaluation. Yet the attempt must be made.

The attempt must be made because, as Sam Flowerman, Kurt Lewin, and others have shown, good will is not enough, energetic propaganda may boomerang. It becomes too easy to find instances where the cause is served by those who, like the fabled fanatic, “redouble their efforts as they lose sight of the goal.”

This attempt requires, quite urgently, an extension of the frontiers in the social sciences. It requires a definition of purpose in terms of a process rather than a static goal. It requires the devising and testing of methodology. It requires both the selection among available instruments and the forging of new conceptual tools to describe and to “measure” the progress made. In short, the development of democracy requires fresh advances in research, training, application, and evaluation.

Some Definitions and Directions

Intercultural education is education which has to do with the cultural learnings that may be used to divide or unite or to create conflict or understanding among people. It posits the goal of democracy, understood as a process of furthering the maximum growth of *all*.

A survey made in the summer and fall of 1944 by the present author and his associates indicated that of some of the hundreds

of organizations concerned with this purpose almost all concentrated their efforts on speeches and pamphlets. There were only a handful of truly professional workers, and a vast dearth of data on the results of their efforts.

Since that time there has been a rush of activity to fill the vacuum. Representative schools and school systems have engaged in serious and fundamental programs. Outstanding social scientists have undertaken research. Social agencies have begun to examine themselves and to set in motion long-term studies of the nature of undemocratic prejudice and employ measures to combat it. The training of skilled workers has received considerable emphasis.

All this is good, though still pitifully inadequate in extent as compared to the job to be done for all—create conditions of fair employment; decent housing; adequate health services; needed transportation; recreation, and education. And to do this in the aftermath of the most gigantic war in history, in the face of potential obliteration due to international and economic anarchy, might well seem hopeless.

Yet the hope is with us. The beginnings are made. We now face the task of working as if there were time—not knowing if there will be time—to bring all the science, art, and the resources in which we are rich but unmobilized to bear on the central problem of our era—how to live well with one another.

Having made plain that intercultural education means education for democratic living, I shall now attempt a more specific outline of the major areas in this field, of the main purposes within them, and of the problems in evaluating work toward them.

Major areas. The major areas are these: research, interpretation, application, and professionalization.

Research. The purposes of research are necessarily as many as the problems and the ideas which arise. It is plain this early,

however, that there are categories of most-needed research. Two major ones are: the dynamics and nature of individual growth under varying conditions; the dynamics and nature of group processes. Subsidiary inquiries are needed into such aspects of the foregoing as these: (1) the crucial characteristics of present society that affect security, development of frustration and aggression, offer means for peaceful rather than conflict solutions of problems; (2) crucial ages in crystallization of attitudes; (3) crucial personalities and character of events that influence attitudes; (4) individual and group therapies needed for democratic living; (5) historical evidence on the nature of social change and its direction.

These and many more inquiries need above all the development of a unified theory of human dynamics that can be used and tested by representatives of all social sciences.

Evaluations of present available researches are badly needed in order to answer the questions. What is available? How is it used? How could it be used? What are the gaps in our knowledge? Who should fill the gaps and how?

Interpretation. The need to interpret research is very great. The professional and the lay public alike are far from conversant with the best and latest findings of psychology, biology, anthropology, and other social sciences as they relate to democratic human living.

For the professional, there is much need for synthesis of research findings, up-to-the-minute news of results. Experience shows the need for varied interpretations, which indicates the relevance of findings to every field.

The lay public is so far from informed that there is little or no recognition of the advances made in knowledge of human behavior in the present century, nor of the vast possibilities that those advances open to us in the conduct of society's pressing business. A sign of this need is found in the fact that almost

without exception the research and the application of it is still financed by private, not public, funds.

Evaluation of interpretation is needed to show the relative values of written, oral, and other types of presentation, the effect of propaganda; the results of advertising, the importance of participation in activity to apply the findings reported as reading and study go on.

Application The vast sums of money and the lives which have been spent on exhortation to goodness through many mediums (long before the beginning of the Christian era) have nonetheless left us with tremendous unsolved problems. There is urgent need to develop deeper and broader experimental testing of organization, administration, methods, materials, and personnel employed in education for democracy.

The purposes of this education lead in the following main directions:

- To establish a common definition of the democratic aim

- To establish that aim as public policy—in community and school

- To examine present practices in the light of that aim

- To develop a new, revolutionizing type of administration—democratic

- To develop a teaching process that is consonant with the democratic goal and with our knowledge of how learning takes place

- To develop materials of learning best for this task

- To develop continuous studies of all the foregoing, which are workable and useful, and which are illuminating and supplementary to the basic research otherwise conducted

These aims require the development of records, which are informative without consuming colossal amounts of time. They require much more reliance on trained observation and balanced judgment than on paper-and-pencil tests of the traditional kind. They call, then, for continuous in-service training and clinical

discussion. They call for a new, flexible, insightful method of sampling attitude and action as it occurs and transforms itself. They call, in short, for a dynamic process of insight to keep pace with a dynamic process of human development!

Professionalization. It is plain from the foregoing that, as Dr. Louis E. Raths points out again and again, the key to progress is in persons, not in formulas. The formula, technique, study material, and research finding are nothing without the skill and creative intelligence of the user.

The aim here implied seems to me to be an initial development of key personnel—in agencies that rely on education—with the ultimate goal of making both pre-service and in-service development an experience in study, application, and clinical evaluation of our human-relations practices. This means nothing short of professionalizing the treatment of both symptoms and cause of undemocratic human behavior.

To evaluate the methods of present and future training will require establishment of hypotheses that relate the educator's function to the democratic social ideal. It will require employment of experimental methods and a long-term follow-up of the persons who are exposed to them. It calls again for records of attitude and action, with the changes that occur against a background of personal and social conditions.

Conclusion

In the course of such a brief essay, it is only possible to touch on a few aspects of the purposes and problems which need evaluation in intercultural education.

It is evident that the effort to collect and weigh evidence is partly helped and partly hindered by the vestigial attempts to fasten the methods of a pre-Einsteinian physical science on the dynamic field of human relationships. It is equally evident that the utmost good will and the most pious hope of human better-

ment cannot succeed without a theory, art, and science of human relations

What is demanded, therefore, is a unifying theory of human growth adequate to the integrated effort to develop democratic ways of life. This in turn calls for research, interpretation, application, and professionalization.

In each of these four areas, the more accurate definition of purposes and problems will aid the establishment of records and evaluative judgments. Just what these may be is only dimly seen at present, though notable attempts have been in the making during the past few years.

In all, it may be said, no true progress can be attained without evaluation; no evaluation without the courage and wit to replace traditional methods based on static concepts of the universe with the means of a dynamic insight into a dynamic process.

H H Giles is Executive Director of the Bureau for Intercultural Education, Lecturer on Education, and Director of the Intercultural Workshop, New York University

WHAT IS EVALUTION UP TO AND UP AGAINST IN INTERGROUP EDUCATION?

Hilda Taba

In intergroup education evaluation is a word to conjure with. Almost any group of able persons working in this field can be either thrown into a dither of excuses or stymied altogether by a simple question about what they are doing to appraise their programs. Inasmuch as intergroup education is expensive in time and energy and money, it is altogether understandable that there should be so much pressure to evaluate. We are pragmatic people and there is practical insistence that nothing should be done in any area unless it demonstrably can "bring home the bacon." At the same time, there is mystical reverence for the technical intricacies of producing and using the tools for gathering evidence. Hence, many interested groups are prevented from making plans to assess their efforts partly because of a fear of the higher mysteries connected with "attitude scales," "projective techniques," and the like.

Evaluation is essentially a procedure for getting evidence to determine whether or not a given activity or program has produced certain educational effects. This evidence has to do with outcomes of various kinds, such as attitudes a person has, factual information he possesses, or his overt behavior. When gathered over a period of time, either continuously or on the basis of "before and after," such evidence constitutes a description of the desired effect or change. Comparison of this description with educational goals constitutes appraisal. For example, a teaching unit designed to create in students interest and concern for minority groups can be evaluated by securing evidence on whatever attitudes are being developed in class, and judging these for their adequacy as steps in the desired direction.

The process of evaluation involves several distinct steps. First,

there is the question of determining what goals have a bearing on the case and in what ways they apply. It makes a difference whether a particular program is supposed to make converts, to develop action skills, to enrich mental concepts, or simply to arouse interest. And it makes a difference what public is aimed at, in each instance, and the degree to which each goal is supposed to be reached. For instance, is a given unit meant to produce greater sensitivity and certain defined changes in attitude, or is it meant to go further and result in some practical application? Evaluation thus must begin with clarifying educational purposes as the first step. Then, second, methods must be devised for securing evidence that is appropriate to each of these objectives. Some of it may require technical instruments but a good deal may also be secured through fairly simple devices and common sense. The nature of the needed evidence, as well as the way it is to be collected, will vary with the objectives. For example, if we want to find out precisely how much students know about Negroes, then almost anybody can draw up the necessary short paper-and-pencil test. But if we are curious about their racial attitudes, then much more subtle and comprehensive methods will be called for. The third step is that of interpretation, which often involves relating a variety of information. For even the results of careful instruments like social-distance scales tell very little by themselves; they must be checked against parallel information on the students' general attitudes toward cultural differences of all kinds. Since human motivation is multiple, it must be interpreted in the light of many lines of investigation. This calls for a degree of objectivity, of course, but also for ability to grasp whatever pattern or interplay is characteristic of the individual's emotional life.

Decisions about the goals and techniques appropriate to them are especially important in any plan for evaluation. In connection with human relations it is therefore particularly important

not to skip them. For several reasons it is also especially difficult to make these decisions. There is more than the usual uncertainty in this field about what we are really after, how behavior changes, what aspects of the problem are most crucial, and how each phase of conduct is related to the others. We know, for example, that a person's attitude toward Jews and Negroes is determined to a considerable extent by the degree to which he is adequately informed about these groups and by his social equipment for dealing with cultural differences. But we do not know which is the determining factor in any given instance. In human relations also the different factors affecting behavior act in organic clusters and constellations. These clusters often are combined in different ways in different individuals or in different groups of individuals, and therefore affect behavior in different ways. This makes the precise identification of what is to be measured difficult. Procedures and tools have to be geared to the intricacy of the situation. Unfortunately, however, most measuring instruments—whether formal or informal—yield dependable data only when addressed to one type of behavior, or at least only when they avoid dealing with items that cannot be appraised by identical criteria. We cannot measure skill, information, and attitudes by the same instrument any more than we can measure humidity with a thermometer, because each is defined by a different index. For example, the mere fact that certain materials were widely distributed proves nothing at all about their effectiveness. If the materials were meant to arouse concern in persons previously uninterested, and fail to do so or reach only the already anointed, then they have not fulfilled their purpose no matter how great their distribution. If certain instructional procedures were supposed to change or modify attitudes but are found to yield only additional information, then they cannot be called effective no matter how widely they may have been used, how heartily they may have been welcomed by teachers, or how

efficient they may have been found in other ways. Outcomes must always be appraised strictly in the light of goals

Another aspect of this problem has to do with degrees of achievement and when to be satisfied with them. Changes in attitude come about gradually and the time sequence may be quite prolonged. An individual may begin by passively adopting some belief and formulating it only on the verbal level, then proceed to think through some situation in terms of this belief, and then finally start changing his overt behavior. Unless these three stages are clearly defined and seen in relation to one another, we are likely to get confused and take evidence for one as applying to another. Or we may discard one valid line of evidence because it does not demonstrate the achievement of some other phase we have in mind. How often, for example, have data on the changes in a person's or a group's system of beliefs been thrown out as evidence of the effectiveness of a program because there was no demonstrable difference in overt behavior. In view of the time needed for this process of changing attitudes or overt behavior, it may not have been right to condemn the program in question. Besides, there may have been real changes in personal conduct, only the evidence had not turned up as yet. The problem is to find out whether any educational process is under way or not and the direction in which it is tending.

This matter of confusing the exact behaviors to be evaluated can be troublesome in other ways. Any program can be properly appraised on several different levels, each sometimes involving a different public and always a different type of conduct, and each consequently requiring a different kind of evidence. For example, take the distribution of materials already mentioned. It is fair to judge the efficacy of such literature both in terms of whom it reaches and also according to its effect upon those who read it. Quantity is the simplest category of evaluation and the number addressed through the mails is perfectly valid evidence

on this level. But this line of appraisal cannot go far. It will take more intricate procedures to discover how many people read the materials, in the first place, and what effect it may have had on them all taken as a group, or the various "populations" among them, such as schoolteachers, labor leaders, preachers, or housewives.

When it comes to appraising school programs in intergroup education the situation is still more intricate. There are changes to be assessed in administrative procedures, in the instructional program, and in the attitudes of classroom teachers, principals, and students. In each case there is a different "public" and a different set of purposes. While it can be maintained that, in education, all changes are important only as they promote changes in students, evidence must nevertheless be secured on all of these other levels as well. The complexity of the data required for each area will depend, of course, on the nature of the change under investigation. It is relatively easy to count the actual changes made in classroom procedure, but it is a very different matter when the issue is to appraise shifts in human attitude. Any lack of clarity about the goals in the light of which the evaluation is being made can always complicate the situation at any stage.

The pressure seems to lie in the direction of producing more specific as well as more adequate instruments. Actually we need in the field of human relations at the present moment a greater clarification of goals, a better definition of the several publics we address, and more understanding of the critical factors in changing human attitudes. Unless we succeed in thinking through the problems in these prerequisite areas, the net outcome of our efforts is likely to be instruments of greater technical perfection, perhaps, but with faulty or limited application. By taking this step now, we will be in a position to benefit from the experience of others and to avoid that atomization that

afflicted the achievement testers because the gadget of objective tests was widely promoted and used without developing an adequate prerequisite orientation.

Our immediate task in evaluation appears to consist in a fuller exploration and analysis of the significant constellations in human attitudes, prejudicial and otherwise. Social attitudes of any sort, but especially those associated with intolerance—stereotyping, keeping one's distance, blaming, or rejecting—travel in clusters and are rather intimately related to personality and its interaction with the human aspects of environment. Accordingly, we must isolate and define the really crucial factors by means of such free and "informal" methods as projective tests, story reactions, spontaneous response to life situations (described or actual), book discussions, and the like before we can make valid decisions about the tools we need. It will not be easy to develop instruments that are dependable, sound, and appropriate at the same time. We need more descriptive evidence on the genesis of various attitudes, the influences that shape them, and the relation between verbal expression and overt conduct before we can afford to take short cuts. We also need to know more about how social attitudes affect personality structure before we can rely on instruments for diagnosis or educational stimulation. So let us do a lot more analysis of spontaneous reactions and let us spend more time watching our students before we try our hand at producing "objective" instruments!

EVALUATION IN PROGRAMS OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

Louis Rath

Potatoes might serve as an example. A lot of things must happen before anybody attempts to dig them from the ground. There is a careful selection of the ground; a careful preparation of it; a careful selection of the seed; and careful planting; there follows a program, developed precisely for facilitating yield both in quality and quantity. Many things happen under the ground and we know about some of them and some of them remain secrets. It is possible to pull up a potato plant and examine it, later to pull up another, and later another. There is danger but this examination at different time intervals tells us something of the relation between means and ends in the process of potato development. The process seems to be an intelligent one and harvesting has proved to be worth while when certain signs make their appearance and the conditions of growth are known. The whole thing makes sense. We engage in the process over and over again, and we know what tends to happen when certain things are done.

Leaders in intercultural education have studied many relationships in the field. In their writings it is possible to read again and again about three hypotheses which are put forth to explain in large measure the tensions between groups and between individuals of the same group. The first of these implies that one of the greatest causes of discrimination, exploitation, intolerance, irrational aggression, and other expressions of unhappy human relations is to be found in economic insecurity. It is suggested that if fathers could be more sure of their jobs, more confident that bills could be paid, medical services secured when needed, recreation requirements more nearly met, provisions made for further education, and some assurance that old age would be more pleasant, much of this form of strife would be eliminated.

In other words, here is an idea for making the potatoes grow

Before anyone is asked to dig, it would be reasonable to suppose that the operations required by this theory would have been acted upon. Evaluators would be very much interested in judging yield, both in terms of quality and quantity, if they knew that the means judged to be reasonable and the best available had been put to the test. To my knowledge, however, the grants of foundations or the funds of agencies dedicated to intercultural education have never been pledged to the testing of this hypothesis. No parallel groups have been identified, with the idea that one of them shall live the life, or have the opportunity to live the life, which it is maintained tends to reduce friction among human beings. The methods judged to be most likely to bring about greater and better yield are precisely the ones *not* put to the test.

A second fruitful hypothesis is related to the frustration of certain emotional needs as the cause of much of the aggression among various groups in our society. It is postulated that in the child-rearing processes children learn to expect love and affection, belonging, recognition of achievement, freedom from fear and intense feelings of guilt, sharing in decisions that affect them, and coming to some sensible comprehension of the world around them. The theory suggests that when one or more of these needs is frustrated the individual tends to act in three ways: he may become aggressive in his behavior; he may be in a situation where he dare not be aggressive for fear of reprisal and thus he might behave in an extremely submissive and yielding manner, or he might attempt to withdraw from the situation entirely and do so by becoming absorbed in matters that take him away from contact with his fellow men. The same individual, it is supposed, might practice all three patterns at different times.

Here is another suggestion that seems to require the designing of a long-term study. If the processes implied by this hypothesis were carried into action, if careful planning for the crop had

been done, if all things necessary for the facilitation of yield both in quality and quantity had been carried through, the evaluation of the project would indeed be a reasonable digging operation. It does seem somewhat futile to continue harvesting activities when one is not informed of what has preceded, and all of it quite clearly unrelated to the three hypotheses most frequently put forth by the leaders of the field.

Instead of carrying through a carefully planned program that would be consistent with either or both of the significant hypotheses, attitudes or some other expressions of behavior are measured before and after the showing of a film, or before and after a series of radio programs, or before and after the reading of a pamphlet or a series of them, or before and after an educational course of some kind. The intercultural leaders know that this is not the kind of program to carry on, and it is not the kind of evaluation that should go on in this very important field.

Attacking economic insecurity and attacking emotional insecurity are very closely related and both are enormously complicated projects. Of that, there is no doubt. If, however, these are the requirements of the job, why does anybody in the field piddle around with those trifles which clearly will not solve the problem? Why do we not get together, pool all the available resources, and undertake a study of those ideas which do seem to be significant? It will take a lot of time, a lot of money, and perhaps more talent than is now available to do the job that is required, but certainly we should be working on those things that we believe are most worth while.

In the meantime a great deal of work is being done. Nearly all groups in the field are using a great variety of techniques for bringing about change. Almost anything that promises some effectiveness is utilized: repetition, testimonials, lectures, pamphlets, books, radio programs, motion pictures, the legitimate stage, articles in newspapers and magazines, songs and jingles, resort to law and the making of new laws, pressure tactics, counseling,

forums and discussion groups, some bits of research, and perhaps a dozen other methods. With all of this going on, and with some counteroffensives in operation at the same time, it becomes very difficult to evaluate any one single small effort. In fact, one almost knows in advance that a single shot will have little if any effect.

The situation being what it is, the most reasonable over-all procedure for evaluative purposes would be the consulting of evidence that is publicly available. It should be possible to record gains and losses as these relate to job placements of minority groups, to promotions, and to unemployment. It should be possible to instance changes in the typical restrictions now in operation with respect to the purchase of residential property. Entrance records to colleges and to professional schools could be studied. The amount of intermarriage could be recorded. Memberships in clubs and churches could be analyzed. Overt incidents that can reasonably be labeled as symptoms of intergroup tensions could be counted. More valid and reliable appraisals of attitudes might be carried on, but attitudes as they are now measured may have little or no relation to direct action. Nevertheless, they indicate something and representative samplings could be taken at regular intervals.

All of this assumes great concern for behavior, or, to say it another way, for the end product. Is it legitimate, really, to organize a campaign, concentrate money, develop a communications system, all more or less centered on bringing about changes in the behavior of *other* people, practically without their consent and almost surely without their conscious participation in the process? Are not all of us entitled to the attitudes and to the values we now have? They are the product of our experiences in living in and through our culture. And it is no adequate answer to say that the "campaigns" are themselves experiences, and that furthermore they are of "the right kind." The assumption is made that because they are being used for a good cause

they therefore take on some of the qualities of goodness and thus need not follow at all.

The experiences we want the so-called prejudiced people to have relate to economic and emotional security. If it can be shown that speeches, motion pictures, radio programs, and all of the rest do further wholesome security, then the objection would be withdrawn. Or, if it can be shown that the application of these stimuli bring about, on the part of those now prejudiced, a re-examination of their attitudes, a reconstruction of their values, and that through this re-looking these people bring about change in themselves, then, too, objection to the mass mediums and shotgun approach would be withdrawn. This, by the way, is the third hypothesis most commonly advanced as a promising method for reducing intergroup frictions. It is maintained that the American tradition is a tangled one; that we pick up our prejudices in our earliest days, and they tend to persevere more or less in kind and quantity unless we are motivated to an examination of them. This hypothesis implies that the clarification of one's own beliefs, attitudes, and values involves a scrutiny of the grounds which support them, the consequences toward which they tend, and some comparison of them with alternatives which are proposed by individuals or groups whose ideas differ from ours.

If values are to be identified, then the currently available multiple-choice testing instruments are not appropriate. In defense of some evaluators it must be said they have recommended value analysis or documentary analysis techniques applied to the free writing or the freely spoken comments of participants in intercultural-education programs. These methods may be applied to the products of nearly all projective techniques, they may be applied to interview and discussion materials. It is possible to record group discussions, to record interview data, to photograph and record some activities. But when these are recommended, it is often said that these methods take too long,

or cost too much, or are too involved, or do not result in a single numerical index, or are not exact enough. An examination of these objections shows that many of them are irrelevant, really, to the purposes of evaluating a serious program of intercultural education.

A similar series of objections is encountered when the suggestion is made that observers should be specially trained, that they should observe, report their observations, and be required to compare their observations with others similarly trained. The type of analysis referred to in the paragraph preceding and this type of observing would put a very great emphasis upon the *means* employed in the intercultural program, but many who are actively involved in the designing of projects waive these two suggestions aside as "impractical." Evidently the word practical is used as a synonym for the irrelevant, or very remotely relevant.

To emphasize economic security, to emphasize emotional security, to emphasize reconstructions of one's own beliefs and values in a program of intercultural education is to emphasize means. If means are to be emphasized, then data must be collected that relate to means. And evaluators must become a bit more stubborn in their determination to secure data bearing on means in relation to ends. They must increasingly withdraw from participation in those projects that are not testing significant hypotheses. Evaluation is more than the sizing up of a situation, more than the answer to the question "How am I doing?"; it involves a relationship or a series of them between status at any time and ideas and operations which led up to that status. Progress in this difficult field will be furthered when fruitful hypotheses are put to a carefully designed test. When that happens, it will not only be more reasonable to carry on the process of evaluation; it may even result in greatly improved materials and techniques of evaluation.

THE FRAME OF REFERENCE IN THE COLLEGE STUDY

Lloyd Allen Cook

"In your haste to get going, to push ahead," writes a friendly critic of the College Study, "you appear to be running off in all directions. Like other so called experiments in education, your project is not really an experiment at all. It is an activity program, pure and simple. It will tell in the end the usual success story, with activity piled on top activity, as if a mere additive effect were important. What is lacking, I suspect, is a basic theory, a set of operations to be tested, an ends-and-means picture of induced changes."

Here is no light tap on the shoulder, a damning by faint praise. The writer, a very reputable scientist, says that our work with teacher-educating institutions does not make sense. It has no basic rationale, no covering *schema* or frame in which its many concretions find place and get meaning. This is a healthy viewpoint, a stimulating one, but by no means true. Its effect is, perhaps as intended, to force a rethinking of our way, a brief but probing inspection of the essence. Such stock taking is not bad for any complex project. It will save a vast amount of mere description, an overdose of specifics. It will force thought into major categories, hence into cause-effect-cause relationships.

What is the College Study¹ all about? How can it be viewed *in toto*? First, some dimensional facts. The Study is now concluding the second year of its four-year existence. Twenty colleges² over the nation are its participating members, each ad-

¹ Auspices of the Council on Cooperation in Teacher Education of the American Council on Education. Financed by a grant to ACE by the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

² Central Michigan College, Mt Pleasant, Lynchburg College, Va, Marshall College, Huntington, W Va, Ohio State University, Roosevelt College, Chicago, Springfield College, Mass, the state teachers colleges of Albany, N Y, Eau Claire, Wis, Greeley, Colo, Institute, W Va, Milwaukee, Moorhead, Minn, San Marcos, Texas, Trenton, N J, San Francisco, Tempe, Ariz, Talladega College, Ala, University of Denver, Pittsburgh University, Wayne University, Detroit.

mitted by application. Eight have been in the Study for two years, twelve for one. No two have worked on the same problems, organized in the same way, moved at the same speed, needed the same help, valued and used findings in an identical manner. This does not, per se, mean confusion; nor is confusion implicit in so much activity, so much "running about."

Simple facts of life come to mind. A big-scale project is big scale. The sheer bulk of its energy output is considerable, with a head count of any sort filling pages. A field-work project is not a laboratory exercise, with all its neat precision. A voluntary undertaking, with its initial pay-off to member units, is not a command performance, a top-down ruling on this and that. Our critic does not hold these views; his concern goes much deeper.

The Major Goals We Seek

How can one judge the sense of our work? The obvious answer is perhaps the best answer. First, concerning our effectiveness; secondly, whether what we tried to do, or have done, was worth the doing in a value judgment sense, that is, does it make a needed contribution to teacher education? Thought at either level is quite impossible without a basic frame of reference, which is the gist of the criticism we have cited. This is, first of all, a problem of goals.

Our thinking here has been quite simple. What people do, or say they will do, gets meaning if at all in terms of the goals they seek, the motivations imputed to them. Beginning then with goals, we may ask what our colleges hoped to achieve, the targets at which they agreed to shoot.

From the start, our *central goal* has been "to affect changes in the behaviors of prospective teachers." All colleges shared in this general purpose, in fact, it was the basis of their application. Moreover, it was agreed to work within the field of "intergroup relations," a field defined as meaning the nature, workings, and

effects, in child and adult life, of race, creed, immigrant cultures, rural heritages, and income levels. It was agreed that our work should be a co-operative venture, with frequent swapping of ideas. Finally, each college wanted if possible to make some contribution to professional education.

It can be argued that these goals are clear enough for operational uses. They can be used, for example, to organize a total college community. They can give direction to large and small group actions. They can be appraised in regard to degree of achievement, the point with which this article was supposed to deal.

The Task of Organizing Data

Skiping the work process itself, what now, at the end of our two years, is the "success story" we have to tell? If activity did pile on activity all of its free will, then there would be no sweating out an answer to this question. The truth, alas, is otherwise. Our data are of three main types: college reports, our own records and experiences, and file materials (letters, printed articles, etc.) of several kinds. Imagine these data spread before you? How will you read their meanings, judge their values? Such data must be worked up, put together into coherent wholes, much as one solves any jigsaw puzzle. You try this fit, then that, knowing all along that a more competent person would do better.

Consider, for a moment, the complexity of this problem. Colorado State College of Education at Greeley elected to study for this year the Spanish-Anglo relations in the community. Earle Rugg, their general committee chairman, in harmony with fifty or more college, school, and community leaders, saw in the so-called "Mexican problem" a chance to make a contribution to education in the entire southwestern region, the part of the nation inhabited by a very sizable Spanish-speaking population. A million of these people are in-migrants, an even larger number old residents, with many taking pride in distinguished family

lines. Everywhere in this vast territory, schools must deal with Spanish-Anglo tensions.

A while ago, the college intergroup committee held a meeting at the campus. It was preceded by a small dinner to which several prominent individuals were invited. The meeting itself was public, attracting two or three hundred persons—college students, college and public-school faculty, city officials, ministers, social workers, and others. Major study committees made very brief reports—health statistics, job opportunities, wage rates, juvenile offenses, school attendance, grade progress, pupil relations, public-library uses, campus activities, etc. An effort was made to put the whole business together, to see what changes were needed and might be made. No one imagined that these new ways of treating people would make them come without resistance. These program alterations, in all a sizable number, were set for next year's targets, with a big two-day kickoff conference scheduled for the coming August.

One will miss the point we would emphasize unless he can visualize in detail all that happened at the public meeting, all that occurred the long, hard year. Of the questions a critic might ask, the key query should be *so what?* *So what, for what, and why?* Thus a study group is forced into reflective self-analysis. It is forced, by the very complexity of the situation, into labels for things; *i.e.*, major categories, into means-ends relations, into a basic frame of reference. This is, I believe, what our critic had in mind.

Definitions and Decisions

Here, again, the task may look easy, the pathway clear. That is not true, for each definition is debatable, each step in action is hard to take. In some years at this work, I have seen more than one breakdown at this point. A study group simply gets tied up in knots and cannot, somehow, untie itself, and its efforts to

unkink, to get going, are not a pretty sight to see. It may have poor leadership—a leader unable or unwilling to think well or fast or in big or little wholes. It may have deep-going internal personality conflicts, than which there is no worse war, no fight quite so bitter. It may have wished upon itself in an unnoted but cumulative series of decisions, quite an impossible work task, a packet of aims no merely human group can achieve.

But back now to our own problem. We had set, remember, our one big central goal, "changes in the behaviors of prospective teachers" in the group-relations field. What does this mean? One way to proceed is to assume that its meaning is clear, that no person who lives right can help but know offhand exactly what is meant. We have never, in the College Study, made this assumption. On the contrary, we have taught skepticism, free thought, up to the point where opinions must be jelled, unity for action taking place.

What is "behavior"? Should the label be confined to big-muscle activity? Some say yes and some say no and some, as always, maybe. If the ayes have it, what then about all the things with no certain overt facets—feeling tones, attitudes, beliefs, ideas? Are these unimportant as indicators of probable action? If not, what is education all about? What do schools seek to teach? Skills, of course, are important, but they do not tell the whole story, as every college in the Study quite readily agreed. And so all around the board, college committees have made their decisions, the trend being along the lines our questions have followed.

Take some other mainline problems. Must efforts in the College Study to change behaviors be confined to bona-fide prospective teachers? We are, to be sure, concentrating on this student population. If no other persons are included, then Greeley, along with three fourths of our colleges, has overshot the mark. Here, again, some thinking is in order. For instance, if one can guide

the teachers of teachers, the present college and laboratory-school faculties, will he not, in the long run, do even more good than to work only with the outgoing generation?

Dare one fill children full of fine ideals, Springfield-plan them to their very finger tips, without at the same time doing all that is possible to alter the conditions under which they must live, the community frame of life? Can this ever be done through schooling, or is it a mass persuasion, or a "direct action," job? In what ways, anyhow, does education differ from these other ways of securing behavioral changes, and how is a college, in shaping its intergroup program, to relate itself to these allies and resources?

These are, then, some of the many questions we have faced, the decisions we have had to take. Each is a headache, perhaps a heartbreak, for, when thinkers think, there is no way to tell where their logic will bring them out. *Thinking* is nowise as "objective" as some writers make believe. Science enters in, seeks in fact to control the thought process, but so do other factors play a part, means-ends judgments and moral values, and the two categories are quite distinct.

Three Roads to Rome

Every road, it has been said, leads to Rome, providing one faces in the right direction. So with our goal in the College Study. In our own thinking, almost all data the colleges have collected could be put into three or four channels, all roads to the same big objective; namely, behavioral changes in teachers. For better or for worse, this scheme for analyzing our evidence will show the substance of our total efforts. One may then judge the nature and worth of these efforts.

One type of data found in college reports can be called the product of *experimental studies*. These studies are focused on students in training to be teachers, or on school children, and

in either case the object is to secure measurable behavioral changes. They are made with pre- and end-tests, at times with matched controls. They involve classroom instruction, for example, use of group-relations films. Some deal with campus activities, such as discussion via the small-group technique. Some fall, thirdly, into the area of school uses of the community, for instance, by means of field trips, or, fourthly, into the field of planned community change, such as an adult-education project. Here we are most likely to find our indisputably relevant and reliable evidence, the clearest road to our basic goal.

Area of first importance, so far as number of projects go, is the area of *factfinding studies* the only immediate aim of which is to make known what people are like, how people treat people, living conditions, who runs with whom, etc. To illustrate, the State Teachers College at Moorhead, Minnesota, has assembled possibly more "human-relations" data on its campus population (seventh grade through college to faculty) than has any other teacher-educating institution in the nation. Part is objective, part highly subjective, but all is related to the business of the college. In the year ahead, this committee plans to work on program changes.

Studies of the above type are of several kinds. They deal, in the main, with college-student attitudes, experiences, and associations; with faculty points of view, course content, public-school problems, area living conditions, church and social agency practices. They do not purport to show behavioral changes in teachers, yet they are a step in this direction. They will be used, later on, to implement changes in programs and practices, and their publication may well be immediately helpful to the profession.

The third area in which we propose to group our data is as much as, or more controversial, than the above two. For the present, we shall call it *teacher self-education* in the group process. Take the prospective teachers who participated in the

Greeley public meeting Did they get any new insights about what people are like, how they behave, skills of use in guiding group action? This is an experiencing type of learning, at best a chain of action-reaction-reflection in the Dewey sense Several of our colleges, especially State Teachers College at Trenton, have worked at bringing about group process experiences, with students in active, responsible roles Evaluative data here are highly subjective, though far less so than one might at first suspect

Group Process Education

Group process experiences in our colleges tend to run along two overlapping lines. One can be identified as a *participant-observer* role, the other as a *group manager* Groups do not organize themselves, or run themselves, without leaders At times, notably in her own classroom, the teacher is, in our data, a group leader, at other times, in school affairs, she is far less central. Yet in either case, the kind of learning she needs most in intergroup education is how to find the group's self-chosen leaders and to lead through them.

The above learning is "practice" learning, sweat-labor learning, whatever one wants to call the group worker roles, and subroles, of the sort just defined One needs a different set of skills from those taught in the formal study process, usually new personality qualities, plus a liberal amount of group-work know-how Experiences in the College Study to further these growths in teachers range from the step-by-step organization of the entire campus, or the co-ordination of college, school, and community through lesser group action situations, such as classroom sociodramas.

While no special pleading is needed, we want to go on record as recommending the widespread use of direct experience teaching in intergroup education at all levels Think, for instance, of

the sociodrama, a very simple but most exciting kind of personality interaction. Anyone can conduct it, do it better a second time, adapt it to any sort of human-relations problem. Whether characters are cast in standard group roles; *i.e.*, rambler, cynic, integrator, yes-man, etc., or in a range of majority-minority group parts, a single session will be impressive. One learning outcome, evident in much of our data, is that neither students, nor their teachers, know very much of *use* in unifying conflicting views, in resolving personality clashes. Their lack of social skill is little short of astonishing, the rapidity of their learning, their obvious delight in it once the ice is broken, is equally startling.

Relating Fact to Theory

A basic frame of reference is a unity of many elements. So far, we have discussed two of these: goals and study-action techniques. A third element is theory, in this case, a theory of group relations.

Several colleges in our Study have tried to build such a theory, each definitive of what teachers should be taught about inter-group matters. In general, these efforts have not met with campus-wide agreement. Here we are on the professor's own anointed grounds, the battlefield of words, words, words. In a tactical sense, we have made mistakes. One mistake is to mix systematic sociological theory, say the Warner caste-class viewpoint, with philosophy, the assumptive values as to what is good for people, how people should act. The two should be disentangled, so that one can determine how they are related, how each can best be learned.

Starting with theory, say in a faculty forum, usually comes to no good end. We get preachy, or dogmatic, or mystical. On one campus, a start was made with look-see data, gathered about the community. With these facts before us, our leader moved on to interpretation. Why, in this city, is it not possible for a Negro to

buy and eat a hamburger like any human being? Why, in the same area, are in-coming "wet backs" (Mexicans) the most discriminated against people in the nation? Well, W. Lloyd Warner, to illustrate, says it is the "caste-class system." What is that, how does it work, is it found here? And do schools support it, educate for it? What, really, are children taught about people?

Some Value Judgments

We have, above, moved into our most stubborn, most dangerous, problem area, the scheme of community control, the power system. Many factors operate to perpetuate a cultural pattern, for example, human inertia. But the factor we are least able to educate against, by any reliable evidence, is the *undemocratic use of power*. Maybe that is why, in all sorts of schooling, we sink back into wordy battles on "prejudice," the beliefs that people hold. By data as yet very incomplete, it would appear that discriminatory practices, the signposts all about us, teach prejudices, not the reverse, at least to anything like the same extent. If this is true, we in education are forever handicapped. Our role, in liberalizing behaviors, while very important, is much overrated. The need is for a bulldozer, not a sermon or a sociogram.

Few of us in teacher training can find our way through this puzzle to our own satisfaction. Our data abundantly support this point. To cut directly to the issue, how should the school relate itself to the local power system? One answer, of course, is to ignore it, act as if it were no problem, define it out of existence. Another view is to charge head on, put one's students on the firing line, armed as a rule with the best of intentions. A third position is to treat the power system much as one would electrical current. Watch it; it will burn. It will cook, too, and give light, so do not think it unimportant. Study it, see how it can be put to good use for *all* people.

The problem just stated is, as we see it, a problem in tactics, the essence of which is *risk calculation*. Every power system has a range of tolerance, a marginal area of wavering change, doubt, and uncertainty. Here the use of petition, persuasion, or pressure is most likely to succeed, the risk factor diminish. Direct action groups in the community, which seek to operate within the tolerance range, will attack at this point. Action groups outside the range, the so-called radicals, will move into battle, regardless. Their psychology is quite different; their greatest victories may have little to do with some external objective. In either case, here is course content for mature students.

To generalize still further, the school is an educational institution. Students should learn about group action through their studies and they should experience it in classrooms, on the campus, and in the community. Common sense should keep grade- and high-school students off the picket line; at least, it would be hard to find informed opinion to the contrary. With advanced college students, the case may be otherwise. If they need this kind of training in action tactics, I will myself stand by and help out if they get jammed up.

What Is a Good Human Relations Point of View?

I wish to conclude with a bit of personal experience. A student asked if he could talk with me. When, on the run, I nodded yes, his reply was: "No, it may take some time; let's sit down." Seated in my office, he said "I may as well tell you and get it over. You know what, I am a radical." "No," I replied, "I didn't know. What are you radical about?" He said he was radical about race, and I remarked that that was fine. The student was puzzled. "But you are not radical, are you? You don't strike me that way." "No," I replied, "I'm not radical, I think it is fine for you, not for me." With this my questioner was completely crossed up, accusing me point blank of playing guessing games.

Time and again, the following process takes place. A "radical" calls on someone aligned with the local power system, say the superintendent of schools. He asks for more, a great deal more, than the latter can give, threatening pressure group action. Hot words lead to hot words, and co-operative action, were it ever possible, is now out of the question. I may come along, a few days later, ask for less and get it. Is this because the school official has a bad conscience, fears public opinion, or other reasons? At any rate, has the radical helped me out? And what, in turn, do I do for him? As he notes movement toward his position, can he continue to be radical unless he moves on, makes new demands?

It is a nice exercise in logic to figure out the above equation. What is the role in our culture of the radical, the conservative, the middle-of-the-roader, and is there need for them all? Faced with a role choice of this sort, where can one best make his talents felt, his services pay off? If one's forte is that of integrator, what is he to try to mass together except conflicting points of view? Is this not, in final analysis, about what is meant by good human relations in and outside the school?

Lloyd Allen Cook is Director of the Intergroup College Study, Council on Cooperation in Teacher Education, American Council on Education

SOME PROBLEMS OF EVALUATION IN INTERGROUP EDUCATION

Dorothy Merideth and Elbert W. Burr

The problems of intergroup relations are recognized by the staff of the University of Chicago Laboratory School to be of daily occurrence, schoolwide in range, and with implications for both curricular and extra-curricular planning. Undoubtedly this is true of many elementary- and secondary-school staffs. That it is specifically true at the Laboratory School is indicated in part by the work of a faculty committee which formulated objectives toward which the school should work with regard to relationships between various groups. It is further indicated by the continuing efforts of teachers, concerned with various grade levels and in different subject areas, to work toward those objectives. This account concerns the efforts made in tenth-grade social-studies classes to progress with one group of pupils toward the achievement of those objectives.

Development of the Program

In 1945, the teachers in the Laboratory School began a school-wide re-examination of program and practices, taking as their point of departure the question, "What are the strengths and weaknesses of our school in helping our young people develop into socially sensitive persons?" Committees were formed to investigate particular areas including those of instructional practices, community study, child development patterns, curriculum, and evaluation.

Members of the committee on curriculum decided they could make the most progress by attacking one specific phase of the general problem. They chose to investigate the treatment of intergroup relations, broadly conceived, at all grade levels and in all subject areas. The committee membership included teachers

working in the middle grades, the junior high school, and the tenth grade (the oldest group in the Laboratory School) The special fields of art, shop, and languages were represented, as were the constant subjects of social studies and English.

After considerable observation, conference with individual teachers, and committee discussion, the curriculum committee formulated a statement of purposes that would be applicable wherever the problems of intergroup relations were touched upon in the school. The purposes were classified into two categories: (1) generalizations or concepts which it was desirable to have students understand as a basis for action; (2) desirable action rules. The statement of purposes follows:

Generalizations:

1. There are no inborn emotional or intellectual differences between races.
2. Standard descriptions of minorities are usually unfair to individuals within that group.
3. Everybody belongs to a minority at some time or other.
4. Minorities are important to progress in any democratic organization. We do not want everybody to be the same—some minorities have contributions to make and need to be encouraged.
5. Minorities cannot always expect to get their own way. They must accept their responsibilities as well as claim their rights.
6. People who are underfed, badly clothed, inadequately housed, and poorly educated are likely to be discriminated against as generally dumb, lazy, no good.

Desirable action-rules:

1. Respect the beliefs of others. political, social, economic, religious, cultural
2. Like everybody you can but at least be decent to those you do not like.
3. Value people for what they do, what they are, and what they refrain from doing.
4. Show in daily acts that you really believe the generalizations listed above.

It is obvious that the extent of understanding of the generalizations which teachers could expect of students would vary considerably from grade to grade, as would the amount of specific information which could be taught in support of each generalization. It is equally obvious that the action rules might be verbalized perfectly, and have little or no carry-over into student behavior. The statement of purposes was built, however, in terms of what students in the school should achieve by the end of their tenth-grade experience if the efforts of the school were completely successful

Implementation in the Social Studies

Teachers in different parts of the school made different uses of the statement of purposes. In the tenth-grade social-studies classes these purposes, coupled with various objectives pertaining to development of skills, have been applied in two ways: (1) interpreted in their broadest meaning, they have become the overall objectives of the year's course which is built around the theme, "Understanding Problems of the Modern World"; (2) interpreted more specifically, they were the objectives of a unit on "Problems of Intergroup Relations within the United States." It is to the second application that this account is directed

In studying problems of intergroup relations, the tenth graders followed their customary pattern of unit organization and procedure. After preliminary attitude scales had been administered, there came an overview of the entire unit. This was followed by a period of intensive reading and group activities, in the course of which all members of the group were exposed to a common foundation of information and experience

Each student read widely from books and pamphlets material specifically selected to provide a background of essential information. Each student had opportunity (an alternative assignment was given) to write a confidential paper in which he identi-

fied and analyzed a prejudice or prejudices of his own. Those who wished to have an individual conference with the instructor did so as a follow-up activity. Each student had opportunities to place himself in another person's shoes by reacting to story situations. Films and other visual materials were used as a basis for group discussion of particular phases of intergroup relations. Guest speakers talked on such topics as "Jewish Ethics" and "Psychology of Prejudice."

Individual and committee activities occupied the attention of the tenth graders during most of the remaining time devoted to the unit. Each student was expected to carry out two special projects, one to be based chiefly on reading in pamphlets, magazines, and books, and the other to be based on an interview or a field trip or both. Students had a wide range of choice in both types of projects, and participated actively in planning and arranging for them. Book reports, "research" papers on specific topics, panel discussions, and oral reports made up the majority of the projects of the first type. The field trips and interview projects included participation in a weekend workcamp conducted in co-operation with the American Friends Service Committee; a half-day field trip in the Negro area of Chicago, conducted in co-operation with the Chicago Urban League; interviews with such persons as an official of the Rosenwald Fund, an official of the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee, an educator with firsthand information on problems of Southern Negroes, and Japanese-Americans who had come to live in Chicago after being released from relocation centers. Written reports and oral discussions of the interviews and field trips were considered a part of the projects.

The culminating activity of the unit took the form of summarizing discussions in each class. Students formulated their conclusions in regard to the nature and causes of prejudice, common discriminations which result from prejudice against minority

groups, and solutions to the problems of prejudice and discrimination in intergroup relations. The discussion of solutions included attention to general policies for society as a whole, and to specific things which individuals could do in everyday life

Evaluation Techniques

Because the unit was characterized by several types of objectives it was necessary to use a variety of evaluation techniques.¹ Evaluation proved to be an extensive project requiring the collection of evidences of modified behaviors in a variety of situations in the classroom, the school, and, in so far as possible, the community. The fact that intercultural education is concerned with slowly changing behaviors complicated the problem. Evaluation could not be limited to any single instrument or technique. It was important to measure the extent of factual information concerning racial backgrounds and racial and cultural characteristics. This could be done rather simply by objective examination following customary patterns. It was also important, and more difficult, to measure the student's ability to use this information in making significant generalizations. Through the use of the situation-response technique it was possible to determine to a limited degree the extent to which youngsters could apply generalizations to new situations. In this type of exercise an incident taken from everyday experiences encountered by the students—on the streetcar, at the beach, etc.—is described briefly but specifically, and students are asked to answer questions about how they would feel, what they would do in that particular situation.

Attitude scales were also used. A general attitude scale on social beliefs was administered at the beginning and end of the

¹ Samples of these instruments are included in *Evaluation in Intergroup Relations, Some Tentative Instruments*. Prepared at Intergroup Education Workshop, University of Chicago, summer 1946 (New York: Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools, American Council on Education, 1946), unnumbered pages, mimeographed.

school year, without particular reference to the unit on intergroup relations. Analysis of the items applying to intergroup relations, however, provided some indication of changes in pupil response. Presumably these changes were affected to some degree by the systematic study of problems of intergroup relations. Other attitude scales were administered at the beginning of the unit, with each pupil scoring his own and finding his own classification in regard to intensity of like or dislike for the particular group involved.

Social distance scales gave the staff some indication of the relationships among the various racial, religious, and cultural groups in our school and among the young people in the community. In this instrument the student is provided with a list of activities common to his daily life. He is asked to indicate whether or not he would be willing to engage in each of these activities together with members of various racial and cultural groups. If he is willing, he is asked to indicate to what degree—using a three- or five-point scale.

Word reaction inventories were found to be revealing, and especially valuable for motivation. In this type of exercise the teacher chooses a list of words, perhaps names of racial, religious, or nationality groups. The student is asked to listen to each word as it is read, and write down the first four words or phrases which come to mind. These exercises were used in the first part of the unit in an attempt to discover particular stereotypes which students held. They were used in evaluation at the end of the unit in an attempt to measure progress in combating stereotyped thinking.

None of these instruments, however, proved as valuable as the case study and anecdotal records. Data from the personnel files was combined with that drawn from analysis of student papers written during the unit and from observations of student activity in a variety of situations. Taken together with the data

collected through the use of the instruments described, it was possible to obtain some indication of growth—or lack of it—in the direction of the objectives.

Problems in Evaluation

The use of these evaluation techniques forced the social-studies staff to consider some of the problems basic to the evaluation of intergroup education. Techniques and instruments of evaluation which had been developed for other situations had to be appraised and adapted for use here. This appraisal indicated certain problems of evaluation which seem to have special significance in intergroup education.

Are young people's responses basically honest? The student's expression of an attitude in a test situation is often assumed to be a fairly reliable evidence of the pupil's disposition to act in a particular way in a life situation. Situation-response instruments and attitude scales have been frequently used—and were used by the Laboratory School social-studies staff—in an attempt to measure the effectiveness of intergroup education. In using these instruments the importance of the basic honesty of the child's response has too often been ignored. Even when the pupil *thinks* he is reacting honestly, he may be influenced by a number of factors. Classroom experiences and the attitude of the teacher have indicated to the student the type of response acceptable to the teacher and approved by the group. Too often the concern shown by teacher and child with regard to unit grades has put a premium on a particular pattern of response. In the classroom situation the child is relatively free from personal economic and social pressures frequently involved in face-to-face situations. The child is removed from the immediate family and community influence on attitudes toward critical problems in intergroup relations. All of these factors must be considered in evaluation and indicate clearly that teachers must not place too great emphasis on any one evaluation technique.

Are students developing a real understanding of intergroup relations or reacting only at a verbal level? Children—even as their teachers—are apt to be glib. The unit of study in intergroup education has emphasized the development of an acceptable vocabulary. Restrictive covenants, race riots, intolerance, Jim Crowism, and so on, are ideas discussed at length in the classroom. Children know—at the level of easy verbalization—the acceptable course of individual and group action. But all too frequently theirs is a lip service within the classroom. Away from the classroom and the school, the old patterns of prejudice continue to dominate behavior. Outside of school, conflict situations are real. Tensions are personal. As status, security, prestige in the peer group, and the culture pattern of the family become involved, the temporary nature of understanding at the level of verbalization alone becomes readily apparent. Deep-seated patterns of prejudice tend to persist. In the intergroup education program the tendency to verbalize must give way to the opportunity for direct experience to modify existing attitudes about intergroup relations.

Does evaluation include evidences of modified attitudes and behavior in the total life situation of the youngster—or does it occur primarily in a vacuum? Consider the youngsters in our Laboratory School who come to school each morning from Bronzeville or South Shore Drive. Both attend a completely non-segregated school. Both have acquaintances (though seldom friends) among all races *in school*. Both study in the same class about human relations and especially the problems involved in intergroup relations. At the end of the day, however, or perhaps when it comes time for a swim at the beach, each child returns to real-life situations to be confronted by a mass of evidence of prejudiced and intolerant behavior completely the opposite of the classroom experience. Both encounter a pattern of adult prejudice which seriously interferes with the use of new action patterns.

developed in the classroom situation. Yet it is under these very conditions that children live and it is here that evidence of changed behavior must be sought. It is here that an effective program of evaluation begins. This implies a plan for evaluation which has as its major technique the use of direct observation of behavior in a variety of situations. Only by seeing youngsters in action in tension situations can teachers know whether or not behavior is being changed and better citizens of a democracy developed.

Is evaluation conceived in terms of individual progress? It is a truism that teachers must begin where they find their pupils. But unless that level of action-response can be determined by extensive observation and accurate recording of behavior patterns, it is impossible to measure the extent of change in the behavior of the individual child. Equally important in this initial approach is the analysis of the group dynamics operating on the child in the class, the school, and the communities of which the individual is a part. It is impossible to understand individual and group behaviors unless they can be observed in relation to peer groups and adult groups. With this pattern carefully recorded it is then possible through direct observation by the school staff, through observation by interested adults in the community—clergy, scout leaders, recreation directors, parents—and through child reactions to the variety of evaluation instruments available to begin to record changes in behavior. Only now do teachers begin to note the development of new positive attitudes.

What is the relationship between the behaviors of the individual as an individual and the behaviors of the individual as a member of a group in similar situations? One of the most difficult steps in effective evaluation in this area is the problem of determining the level of action response and its relationship to group dynamics. To achieve desirable action responses on an individual basis is undoubtedly a first step. But

if a child demonstrates acceptable behavior in face-to-face relationships on an individual basis, to what extent will he behave in similar fashion, when, as a member of a group, his action may involve a threat to his status and prestige? Can we determine the extent to which attitudes have been fundamentally altered—or the extent to which any specific pattern will consistently characterize individual action? It may well be that we must expand our understanding of evaluation to the point where we realize that the developing behaviors which we seek are apt to take a long period of time. As teachers we may initiate the development of these new action patterns. As teachers and citizens we should watch the progressive development of these action patterns in the community in which we live. One of the ultimate evaluations which might well be made concerns the entire tone of the community in terms of intergroup relations. When individuals as individuals and individuals as members of groups are consistently aware of their obligations to their fellow-men for the promotion of more effective intergroup relations, teachers and schools can consider the job well done.

In spite of the inadequacies of existing instruments and the limitations of commonly used techniques, evaluation must be recognized as an integral part of an intergroup education program. Evaluation must be attempted even though it requires extensive time and effort on the part of the classroom teacher. Administrators must realize that to develop a successful program of intergroup education, teachers must have time and necessary assistance to experiment in the development and use of new instruments and techniques. Evaluation must be carried through on a scale that involves not only the school but the community as well. Only then can the potential values of an intergroup education program be realized.

IS EVALUATION MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING?

Dan W. Dodson

There is more hoping, praying, trusting, assuming, and supposing that programs in intergroup relations bear fruit, and less actual proof of same, than in practically any other phase of American education. From the standpoint of a person whose responsibility has been that of working to control tensions and reduce prejudice in a community, there are many grave doubts in regard to the actual effectiveness of such educational endeavor, and of many agencies' programs.

Gunnar Myrdal, in the *American Dilemma*, pointed out that the American people pretty well accept as verbalized generalizations the concept of the brotherhood of man as an ideal, yet by far most of our effort is still directed toward securing acceptance of this concept in its broader ramifications.

There is legitimate reason for supposing today that education itself is being used as an instrument to keep social change from taking place in the direction of better intergroup relations. The argument would go something like this: There was a time when religion, in its sectarian stages, was looked to as the directive force in society. As individuals aspired toward better things, they crystallized their ideals in religious sects and valiantly strove to secure them through this medium. Many of the humanitarian aspects of our society were brought into being by this method. The abolition of slavery, for instance, was tremendously aided by pulpiteers in the North, who gave to this fight the tinge of a religious crusade. Eventually, however, the vested interests came to dominate religion, and religious institutions became an obstacle to social change.

The writer has just returned from a conference of Sunday-school superintendents and was tremendously impressed by their resistance to the integration of Negroes into American society

It almost had the force of religious sanction back of it. In those fields in which social advance is being agitated, there is a characteristic rationalization of many religionists today, which says, "This is going too fast for the solution of this problem. We must wait until God moves the hearts of men."

The same principle is operating in education. As religion lost its capacity for giving direction to the social order, men turned to education. Clark Wissler, in his book, *Man and Culture*, says that the school took the place of the church in this regard, that what Americans at one time prayed to God to send them, they now expect education to provide for them. It is not surprising then that the forces which want the control of the church are, at present, rapidly gaining control of the school.

As an individual who has worked for several years to bring about better group relations, the writer can testify that one of the greatest obstacles to social change in the direction of bettering such relations is, today, the argument "that people are just not ready yet. We must wait until there is more education of the people on this point than we have at present."

Evidence of this point of view would be the statement of a college president, who says, "The colleges cannot do much about quota systems as long as prejudice is what it is in the general population. We must wait until the general public is better educated to accept minority group peoples." The director of a convalescent home for nurses says, "We cannot integrate Negroes with the other nurses because the public is not ready for it yet. We must wait until there is more education along those lines than we have today." The baseball magnate says, "People are not accustomed to such intermingling of the races. We must begin way down the line in the small minor leagues to get Negroes integrated so that when players come to the majors they will be accustomed to such interracial mixing. We are not educated enough yet for that." A noted community leader, presenting a clipping to the effect that a Negro had raped a white girl

says, "You see, this is what happens. I tell you our Negro friends are not ready for interracial equality yet. We must wait until such time as education improves the situation."

Thus, education becomes in a real sense a handmaiden to those who would block interracial improvement. In the last analysis, the only way in which we can be sure that programs of intergroup relations improve intergroup relations is to know the degree to which behavior of those under the impact of such programs is actually changed.

Marie Syrkin in her book, *Your School Your Children*, points out that Negro and white girls sit together in many high schools, and still will not associate with each other after school hours. Thus, they learn to behave ritualistically in the school and do not allow the experience there to enter the remainder of their social relationships.

It is almost universally conceded by those who work in community agencies in the average of our cities that the school system is the "hardest nut to crack" in the field of human relations of all the social agencies, and, with a few exceptions in New York State, the colleges and universities would fit in the same category.

If formal education faces these limitations, then what about the programs of the agencies working in the field of intergroup relations? Anyone with critical insight looking over the plethora of agencies working in this field must be impressed with the amount of duplication, lack of co-ordination, and uncritical programming which takes place. It would not be hard to conclude that all too many of the agencies have an executive staff and offices, and, in order to keep the support of their constituency, they are forced to find something which will keep them before the public. This means that they must *pounce* upon every incident possible with all the fanfare at their command in order to gain for themselves the support upon which their existence depends.

It is not hard to imagine some such agencies coming into existence because of the emotional insecurity in so many people as a result of given incidents which makes them feel that it is necessary "to do something about it." Consequently, they form an organization; but once the organization becomes established it tends to become an end in itself, with the result that the executive staff starts building a fence around its job and is dependent for its support upon "keeping the pot of hate boiling."

It is sometimes difficult not to question the motives of some of the leaders in the field, for some become so inured to their roles as "professional Jews," "professional Negroes," etc., who speak of "my people" that one wonders what would happen to them if the problems of the group they represent were, of a sudden, solved.

The same question regarding the actual effectiveness of the school might also be raised about such organizations. For the most part, most human-relations agencies cannot support those issues which are inimical to their agency, however deserving the cause may be. Further, the solution to many such problems must be programs that will jeopardize the interests of those from whom they derive their financial support. Such programs thereby become instruments of control to impede intergroup adjustment rather than to foster it.

When faced with this problem, agencies have a tendency to cease their support of social action except in circumscribed areas, and launch upon "great educational campaigns." The reason for this pattern of behavior is obvious. Having bumped into the inevitable, and come to realize that they cannot accomplish their stated objectives without destroying the very support on which they operate, it is safer to fall back upon educational programs. Incidentally, such programs are much more difficult to evaluate, and as a result greater claims can be made without having to prove the validity of such claims.

It is apparent at once that those programs that produce changed behavior relations are those which can be instituted in such fashion that people are brought together as equals on such bases as tend to destroy stereotypes and antipathies toward each other. Consequently, the big job is being done in intergroup relations, as viewed from a post such as the one held by the writer, by: first, those labor organizations that are taking a firm positive stand in integrating millions of people into employment on the basis of complete equality in every respect. Second, the municipal government in its many branches—in those heterogeneous neighborhoods where the continuation of the politicians is dependent upon support from multistrata within the community—includes such facets of municipal administration as civil service, the work of various departments servicing the community, and public housing (such as that of New York City which is interracial). It would be further demonstrated by the interest of the administration in the adjudication of differences by the support of interracial or goodwill committees such as have sprung up in recent years.

Viewed from the vantage point of such a committee as just mentioned, there is strong argument for the position that the most effective force, good or bad, in intergroup relations, is government itself. If through its courts, its police, its welfare program, public housing, garbage collection, and health programs there is a well-defined policy, which spells out in the day-by-day performance of its tasks the concern that it is responsible to *all* the people, it not only defines public policy and provides a source of power through which such policy is implemented, but in its daily ministrations, it demonstrates in practice what it preaches. Thereby, it becomes the most potent educational influence, and its program can also be evaluated in actual behavior changes in the community.

EVALUATING COMMUNITY ACCEPTANCE OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

Clarence Q. Berger

To search for references to criteria which have been used in evaluating the extent of community acceptance of intercultural education is a disheartening task. The lack of development of such criteria, or, even more to the point, the actual failure to recognize the need for such criteria, highlights a long overdue critical evaluation of the intercultural education movement itself.

Any realistic appraisal of the progress and potential of intercultural education must evaluate the degree to which it has and can achieve community acceptance.

All movements calling for change in the *status quo* of any portion of our social institutions are forced to travel along much the same many-obstacled road. The most frequent and important obstacles are those created by a capricious and unpredictable public opinion. Many a logically formulated and perfectly valid plan for bettering a portion of our social structure has been so mutilated and undermined by adverse public opinion as to eliminate the possibility of its ever achieving community acceptance. Community acceptance will, in the last analysis, determine whether intercultural education is to remain a carefully nurtured but, nonetheless, anemic protégé of a small minority of our population—the so-called crusading liberal, intellectual faction—or whether it is to blossom as a phase of our educational philosophy accepted by the American community as a normal, routine part of our educational system.

Our first evaluation might logically, therefore, be a critical one, indicting the leaders in the intercultural education movement for failing to give sufficient attention, time, and energy to the important problem of assuring community acceptance of

their philosophy and techniques. Undoubtedly, the initial requirement was to perfect the concepts and techniques embodying intercultural education. Exclusive concentration upon these phases of the movement to the exclusion of merchandising the benefits to the American public, however, is impractical and unwise.

The much-abused epithet, "absent minded professor," might well be employed in this connection. The educators at the helm of the intercultural education movement have lost sight of one of the most important ingredients to its success. Effective and successful techniques and their demonstration in selected communities will not, in and of themselves, assure the success of the movement. Intercultural education must, in addition, capture the imagination and zeal of the American public. The rank-and-file public-school educator and school committeeman can hardly be accused of being adventurous and innovation-minded. Naturally, there are exceptions to this generalization. But the exceptional educator and school committeeman will provide intercultural education with only occasional favorable situations. The proponents of intercultural education visualize a general acceptance of their views throughout the schools of the nation; but the assumption that the program will be accepted on its merits alone, is at best, ingenuous.

Today, intercultural education is teetering, teetering between being smeared with the label of a "crusade," or being accepted by the American public as a new component of our standard educational curriculum. Failure to develop widespread community acceptance of intercultural education at this embryonic stage may leave us, in a few years, with a movement on our hands that is valid, logical, and desirable, but tagged as another "starry-eyed" aspiration of the liberals and intellectuals.

Aware, therefore, of the lack of attention devoted to the important task of achieving community acceptance, the question may be posed:

What criteria are available for determining the degree of community acceptance?

A companion question is:

What criteria may be used to evaluate the effectiveness of activities designed to promote community acceptance of intercultural education?

Community Acceptance

The extent of community acceptance might best be evaluated in terms of the progressive stages leading to the ideal situation; *i.e.*, implementation of a program of intercultural education in the school system. Roughly these progressive and cumulative stages might be listed as follows:

1. *Awareness*, in which the community is alerted to the danger to our entire democratic structure implicit in racial, religious, and nationality tensions and prejudices

2. *Recognition*, in which the community is informed of the concept of intercultural education and of the substantial contributions it can make toward releasing such tensions and ameliorating such prejudices.

3. *Orientation*, in which the community is provided with popularized, rudimentary information on intercultural education sufficient to enable the public to form favorable or unfavorable attitudes.

4. *Approval*, in which community sentiment is mobilized to the point where there is community acceptance in principle.

5. *Education*, in which the community is provided with more detailed and complete information designed to give them a full understanding of the implications, workings, and techniques of intercultural education so that community members may serve as salesmen

6. *Action*, in which the community is organized for the purpose of translating its approval into social-action programs designed to impress the advantages of intercultural education upon the teachers, principals, superintendents, and school committeemen with the objective of obtaining formal action by the school officials.

7. *Participation*, in which the community joins with the survey committees formulating the intercultural education program and, upon adoption, joins in the various adult activities encompassed within the program

With a little rewording, the same elementary list of stages could be applied to any movement for social improvement. That is, however, in a sense, the essence of this paper. Intercultural education is, to the lay public, "just another movement for social betterment." Achieving community acceptance for it means following the known, effective techniques for obtaining community acceptance of any movement that is new.

Using these rough criteria, such as they be, in analyzing the average community is, however, a shattering revelation. Eliminating the atypical community where a forceful superintendent or unusual school committee has taken the lead in establishing programs of intercultural education, one finds too many communities that cannot even be listed as having achieved stage 1

Awareness

A rough analysis of five states in one region of the country, four of which states have substantial blocks of diverse racial, religious, and nationality groupings, places two communities in stage 7 (Participation); four in stage 6 (Action); three or four in stage 4 (Approval); and similarly few communities in stage 5 (Education). Stages 2 (Recognition) and 3 (Orientation) have noticeably more communities in each, but still, proportionate to the total number of communities analyzed, a woefully small number. As evidenced by the rapid growth of community relations committees, both official and unofficial, the number of communities which might be classified in stage 1 is considerably higher than one would have found to be the case five or ten years ago. However, in the five states used to illustrate our point, it is probable that a very small percentage of the communities would be so classified. In all fairness it should be noted that achieving stage 1 (Awareness) is the function of all civic-minded persons, including the educators

Effectiveness of Activities Promoting Community Acceptance

If the extent of community acceptance is at such a low ebb, it logically behooves us to ask how community acceptance can be increased. The question as to what criteria may be used to evaluate the effectiveness of activities designed to promote community acceptance of intercultural education is now in order.

Once again we are venturing into a field pretty much uncharted. The following questions are illustrative, and will serve as tests to gauge the effectiveness of the activities of the major groups working in the field.

1. *Educators*

a) Is the individual educator concerned with promoting gradual, constant, small changes within his curriculum along intercultural lines leading to positive community acceptance or is he concerned with an occasional, elaborate spectacle of an interfaith nature that impresses parents and lulls them into a feeling of false progress?

b) Does the individual educator evolve the intercultural elements of his curriculum in concert with parents, thus increasing community acceptance as the program develops, or does he glibly rattle off programs which he claims the parents would not understand, thus dulling parent interest and dampening community acceptance?

c) Does the individual educator utilize natural community resources for his intercultural programs thus maintaining community interest and heightening community acceptance, or does he prefer to resort to the artificial stimuli of books and pamphlets?

d) Is the educator a constant proselytizer in behalf of intercultural education, utilizing his community prestige to the advantage of the movement, or is he a passive advocate whose advocacy becomes apparent only when approached by someone who makes it evident that he is a partisan?

2. *Clergy*

a) Does the clergyman utilize intercultural programs in his Sunday-school classes and adult classes, thus promoting community acceptance through knowledge, or does he merely sermonize on the advantages of intercultural education?

b) Do the clergy join in action designed to promote community

acceptance of intercultural education, or are their activities limited to occasional interfaith meetings?

3. *Professional Workers in Intergroup Tensions*

a) Does the worker promote programs of a constant, intensive nature, designed to develop long-time, healthy community acceptance of intercultural education, or is his interest in the dramatic and sensational mass meeting or pageant which does little more than satisfy the ego and salve the conscience?

b) Is the worker devoting himself to the creation of organizations, committees, and other mechanisms that will work day in and day out for community acceptance, or is he merely a popularizer who speaks on the subject and titillates the emotions but provides no follow-through outlet?

c) Does the worker seek to convert the uninitiated and thus enlarge the degree of community acceptance, or is he content with the easy role of converting the converted, over and over again?

d) Does the worker take each group from stage to stage, thus drawing the entire community up the scale of community acceptance, or is there acquiescence in permitting each group to remain at one of the lower stages.

4. *Lay Public*

a) Do the avowed supporters of intercultural education recognize that it is a long, tedious process before final community acceptance will be achieved and accept the drudgery of their work on this premise, or are they seasonable zealots, now violently partisan and the next day apathetic?

b) Is there recognition of the fact that intercultural education is only a partial answer to intergroup tensions and prejudice, or is there the futile hope that intercultural education is the simple and sovereign answer to all bigotry, a hope that inevitably is dashed and results in bitterness and a net decrease in community acceptance?

c) Is there intelligent understanding of intercultural education to pass on to one's neighbor and develop sound community acceptance, or is there a superficial, "key-word" knowledge that acquires few converts and antagonizes many?

In each instance, the list could be longer and certainly other groups could be included. However, some basis for the eventual

development of criteria for determining the effectiveness of activities designed to promote community acceptance of intercultural education may exist in these sample suggestions. A re-examination of them reveals that by and large they resolve into an attempt to separate the chaff from the wheat, the sincere, planned efforts from the sensational, popular efforts.

In conclusion, it may well be noted that during its brief existence intercultural education has done not too badly in terms of achieving community acceptance. A new, unknown concept has acquired a modicum of acceptability. To those of us, however, whose concern is to assure its general acceptance as a standard part of the American educational curriculum, the results are far from satisfying. The promise implicit in intercultural education does not permit of any compromise short of complete community acceptance.

Clarence Q. Berger is Director, New England Regional Office, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

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SOCIAL ART: A COMMUNITY APPROACH

Arthur Katona

I

The problem of art and the people has concerned my wife and me for a number of years. In our respective capacities as painter and sociologist, she and I long have pondered the question: How can the two be brought together? In other words, is it possible for a social art—a people's art, a truly popular art—to develop? Just what may the sociologist, art-minded, and the artist, social-minded, do about it?

Certainly, it appeared to us, art is not a special preserve of aesthetes and dilettantes; it is not to be segregated in museums and galleries for the benefit of a supposedly cultured elite. Nor, on the other hand, is its showing place, as has once been obstreperously stated, the saloons, "dives," and other such hangouts where common folk are purported to congregate. Not that a saloon could not be as fit a place as a gallery to display paintings—a saloon may be a poor man's club, and why should not a poor man's club have works of art for the edification of its members?—but there are other social centers besides saloons, though, as any

sociologist knows, in many a town community indifference is such that the saloon is the only social center at hand.

It seemed, too, that art should neither be a preoccupation with circles and triangles nor an engrossment with picturesque folk scenes, though both have useful functions: one to open up new techniques of composition and execution, the other to introduce art on the existing comprehension level of popular audiences. Of course, what art is or should be is a matter no one can state specifically. In general terms it may be said, tentatively at least, that art is some sort of creative representation of an aspect of the world that is communicable to others and that enhances the conception of that aspect for both artist and audience. Social art is the most significant kind of art, we believe, and I shall enlarge upon this point of view in due course.

Our first practical attempt to contribute to the working out of the problem of art and the people was the projecting of a series of sociological murals stressing the interracial theme.¹ After completing first in the series, on the arts and sciences, and setting up preliminary designs of the second, on labor, we had to hold up work for an indefinite period due to circumstances beyond our control. We are now active on a second project: the portrayal in water colors of a whole community area which takes in a small town and the countryside around it.

We chose the community project for a number of reasons beside the basic consideration that it was social art. For instance, it would furnish material for a forthcoming mural on community life, and it provided a means by which art and sociology could come together to survey an area of human living. Here right under our nose was a fascinating little world awaiting explora-

¹ See the articles: "Murals for Schools and Colleges," *Design*, XLIV, No. 1 (September 1942), 17-20; "The Sociology Murals," *American Sociological Review*, VIII, No. 1 (February 1943), 87-88; "A New Campus Mural," *Survey Graphic*, XXXII, No. 6 (June 1943), 262; "Art Portrays Democracy in Action," *American Unity*, II, No. 1 (October 1943), 15-16.

tion; close at hand, as in many other fields of endeavor, lay, unnoticed and overlooked, the obvious, rich in interest. We discovered that art and sociology, like many other things, begin at home.

And so we went into backyards and across the street. We went downtown, into the neighborhoods, to the outskirts, on the farms, up the valleys, over roads and bridges. The neighbor's chicken house, the filling station on the next block, the city hall, McCoy's Barber Shop, a square dance at Odd Fellows Hall, a baptism in a roadside creek, Jim's saloon, East Bridge, Clark's Chapel out in the country, these and many other everyday but vital features of community living turned out to be exciting artistic themes. The ordinary became extraordinary as our eyes opened wider to the new world around us, and we felt at times like the poet who wrote, "To see a world in a grain of sand and a heaven in a wild flower."

II

We were with the people, it seemed, socially and artistically. It felt good to be actively working out our philosophy of art. Whether or not we were doing a competent job, here we believed was art in its most vital form: social art; and here was social art on its most intimate level, that of the community.

It began to appear to us that art thus carried on may become what is most significant in the meaning of the word *community*, namely, communal. Art becomes at its functional best a sharing, as is community living at its best; art receives inspiration from the life around it and gives its own gifts to make that life richer and more meaningful. Art now approaches the ideal of the peoples of primitive societies where it was inseparable from the daily life of the community, serving to unify that life into a significant whole. We moderns of course cannot go back to the primitives; but we can socialize art and make it an integrating force in a world basically interdependent and yet tragically split by varieties

of factionalism. We may begin with the local community, rural or urban, and step by step tie it to other communities until we make it a part of a world community; in other words, we may incorporate the local community into the "one world" of the present-day humanists without losing community identity. While integration begins at home, it must not stop there.

It seems to us, then, that art belongs to the people, to the folks at home, and to those all over the world. Art is part and parcel of local and world democracy, and the artist is a key figure in the democratic process. In this process art encompasses a broad range of themes, from the daily life and environment of the home folk to the world stage of events and scenes that affect the lives of people everywhere. Thus the artist becomes an agent in the unification of man with man, and man with nature.

If, as we believe, art belongs to the people, then a paramount duty of the artist is to portray people in their everyday living. We hold that such common scenes as a backyard, a street corner, a saloon, a square dance, a picket line, a church social, are the stuff of life that is raw material for art. The artist may find this stuff of life around him in his own community, he does not have to go to distant places, such as an Alpine lake or the Samoan Islands, to find inspiration. If he is at all receptive, he will discover plenty of inspiration in the lives of people close at hand. Let him explore the home area, and he will be amazed at the rich subject matter opening up all around. All this takes work, of course—genuine art, as any serious artist knows, is hard physical and mental labor—but let the artist get down to hard work. He will be that much closer to the laboring men and women who constitute the vast majority of mankind.

Our point of view must not be confused with regionalism, which in its blatant forms is the art phase of American isolationism, or with genre painting, which more often than not is random depiction of everyday scenes as they strike the artist's

fancy. Both, however, make contributions to the development of social art even when the one is provincial and the other whimsical. Neither tries to represent in any thoroughgoing fashion the surrounding human life in all its abundant variety. Rather they work on that which appeals to them at the moment. This is not to quarrel with their choice but to differentiate them from community artists.

Critics of regionalism are no doubt correct in pointing out its nationalistic, ruralistic, and literalistic tendencies and in berating its antiforeign, antiurban, antimodern, and anti-intellectual attitudes, but when they sneer at common people and common scenes they are just as wrong as those regionalists who jeer at intellectuals and intellectual discourse, and are just as provincial. What could be more gallingly provincial than the haughty esotericism of the intelligentsia who keep aloof from the great world of workaday people?

Those artists and critics who refer disparagingly to everyday scenes as "folksy" and hence inferior thematic material simply betray their aesthetic snobbery. A "folksy" scene after all is a social scene and is as legitimate subject matter for art as any other scene. When the folksy, the cute, the picturesque are made ends in themselves, then does art cease to be significant and become trivial. But to grasp all this, the aesthetic snobs will have to snap out of their ivory-tower isolationism and meet the people. Only then will they discover the meaning of social life and social art.

Furthermore, the critics should bear in mind that if there may be elemental ignorance and superstition in the common man, so may there be polished pretense and obscurantism in the intellectual. And if art may be vulgarized to death by commoners, so may it be refined to death by aesthetes.

And that brings us to abstractionism. It is to be regretted that abstract art, once boldly pioneering and fruitfully experimental, has degenerated into an "ism." From progressive movement to

cult to fad seems to have been its depressing retrogression. Everyone at the moment appears to be climbing on the "bandwagon." "All the smart galleries are showing abstractions," says a painter, "so I guess I'll be painting them this year." Another remarks complacently, "It took me some time to get used to painting abstractions but now I've caught on. And I've gotten nice notices for some of my last compositions." One may note with humor here that the wallpaper and linoleum manufacturers have been doing for years, without "arty" pretensions, what these abstractionists are now laboriously trying to "create."

Such comments would seem to show that the general run of artists is like the general run of any group of mortals: easily picked up and blown hither and yon by the prevailing winds of fashion. Of course, out of the shallow motivations of these artists comes shallow art. There are no profound and abiding convictions here, no warm human feelings, no deep integrity of purpose. And there is little or no social understanding, alas, as evidenced by the insistence of the painter who talked about "the smart galleries" and said that "there's no such thing as social art."

Earlier criticism of the abstractionists maintained that their work was unintelligible and incommunicable; it was too private and amounted to self-indulgence in esoterics. One Rabelaisian wag, it is said, referred to this indulgence as aesthetic masturbation. Today with abstract art in the stage of a growing fad it seems to be no less incommunicable but it has found response in an increasing number of circles—"it's the thing"; though these are more like cliques of mutual-admiration societies than groups of sincere and understanding appreciators. This trend, of course, is socially derived, a product of the Second World War and its aftermath, and is akin to the selfish escapist mood that is more concerned with a pair of nylon stockings than facing up to the world at home and abroad.

It goes without saying that art must be rescued from the bogs of cultism and faddism. The main hope lies in a renewed and expanded social art. Unless social art is made to grow strong and vigorous it will be choked in the abstractionist swamps. To enable it to gain strength, it needs mass support and, once given this support, it will come into its own as the dominant art form of democratic societies. Abstractionism then will be relegated to its place as an esoteric pastime, and abstract art will resume its progressive role as modern innovator and decorator.

We do not wish to bury abstract art but to resurrect it. Our guns are leveled at abstractionism. Abstract art will live and develop, we hope, as a constructive art force. Sincere and creative artists in the abstract field have made and will make important contributions. But at present they are being crowded by the hordes of cultists and faddists who have pushed themselves into the spotlight on the art stage.

If the function of abstract art be innovation and decoration, what then is the function of social art? It seems to us that the function of social art is best expressed by the word "socialization." We mean this: bringing about a community of man and man through a heightened sense of their common life in its various aspects from the basest to the noblest. Social art, in other words, brings human beings closer together in mutual understanding and constructive action.

In our community approach to social art, art, and sociology, which studies group and community life, may come together to mutual advantage. Not only may artist and sociologist learn from and stimulate each other but, as has been said above, they may work together in making a survey of a local area. Where the sociologist provides rational insight into social life the artist furnishes emotional insight. Both are necessary for the understanding of the human world.

Contrary to traditional educators—and unfortunately they still

rule the academic realm—learning is not a matter of the intellect or even principally so, it is just as much a matter of the emotions. This is especially true of social learning. To really understand the relationship of man to man, let us say, for instance, in regard to the problem of prejudice or of exploitation, it is not enough to employ the bookish, intellectual approach. That leaves the learner cold, unmoved, "ignorant." He must have an emotional feel of the problem, he must warm up to it and the people concerned. Not by the head alone do we learn about our fellow men, but by the heart as well. Here is where the arts, virtually barred from academic halls, may come in and do their part.

The intellectualism of the schools is one of the reasons why academic men have been relatively ineffective in influencing the public mind. Propagandists, advertisers, politicians, and publicity men, who know emotions and how to manipulate them, are far more potent educators than the educators. They have made public-opinion management into both art and science and they use arts and artists in any way that suits their main purpose of "gaining friends and influencing people."

We need, then, art in education and education in art. In other words, the arts—drama, music, dance, painting, sculpture, and literature—must be used to liven and strengthen teaching methods, and teaching methods must be used to bring the arts to the public inside and outside the schools. There is no better place to begin than the community.

III

No bright thought suddenly came into our heads to send us off on our community project. The idea came quite gradually. We had been hiking up and down the countryside, enjoying the hills and valleys, noting the poor farms and abandoned mines, and sizing up the town neighborhoods as we passed from our home to the outskirts. My wife had been moved by the misery of a shack in the Negro section and tried to portray its sinister squalor

in a water color. And one Saturday night we had such a rousing good time at a square dance in an out-of-town tavern, and were *so exhilarated by the friendly, uproarious spirit of the place where miners and farmers danced, sang, and shouted in a merry let-go* that the next morning my wife began a painting of it from memory.

It dawned on me that here was a cross section of human life richly made to order for social art. Why not do the whole community in more or less systematic fashion? So we set about our project, working it up in a sort of community design from the downtown section to the neighborhoods, to the outskirts, to the countryside, and back again. Institutions, events, situations, people—all contributed thematic material.

The Athens, Ohio, region, which is the community under survey, is a "natural" for any artist or sociologist with a social conscience. It is part of a worn-out farming, mining, and timber cutting section, the poorest in the state, and its people are fighting a losing battle against want. The factual and statistical evidence for this has been thoroughly and eloquently marshaled by the sociologist, Irwin V. Shannon.²

There was nothing picturesque, therefore, in the poverty aspects of the lives of these people. A tumble-down house in the Negro neighborhood was a thing of evil and depicted as such. At the same time a shack on the river edge in the low-land, flood country that bravely put up a front of garden flowers to conceal its grimy boards was portrayed with all due praise for its efforts at beauty.

The backgrounds of some of the paintings were packed with touching human interest. For instance, we found out that a family living one winter in the afore-mentioned wretched dwelling of the Negro section ripped boards from the sides to use as firewood indoors. When my wife was painting the house, a

² See his monograph, *Southeastern Ohio in Depression and War* (Columbus: Ohio Public Health Association and the Bureau of Educational Research, Ohio State University, 1943).

colored boy walked behind, looked over her shoulder, and exclaimed, "Gosh, that dirty shack is changed into lots more than a dirty shack in your picture." Needless to say, the painter felt complimented.

During the painting of a blackened, makeshift mining tippie that seemed to wobble on its rickety timber legs, a miner came up and proceeded to tell the artist all about the operation of the two-man mine typical of that part of the country where individual miners now picked up the leavings of the big-time operators. He was a self-read man and discoursed with friendliness about mining, science, education, and art. He offered to take her into the mine and show its workings. Not at all unwilling, she put on miner's jacket and cap and into the narrow hillside hole she went, riding in a cart drawn by a Shetland pony. Diagonally down the low, one-track tunnel, they bumped slowly along for 700 feet until they reached the working face. There was no mistake about getting the feel of a coal mine and the miner's life in it—the dankness, muck, cramped quarters, and danger were at hand in all their grim intimacy.

The friendliest people of all were the congregation of a little revivalist church. After the services, which were later incorporated into a painting, every member came to us in good-neighbor fashion and welcomed us into their church and homes. The minister offered to let my wife come into the church at unused hours and sketch the interior.

Many similar cases could be recounted: the farm family that had already heard of the artist and her husband, and brought out their best pitcher and glass and drew up well water to slake our thirst; the woman of the tiny neighborhood church who said that the "fancy-dressed people in the big downtown churches are too snooty to be good Christians"; and so on.

One of our most surprising and gratifying discoveries was that these plain folk were genuinely interested in art. After we became

acquainted, they expressed themselves freely, asking questions, making suggestions, telling us how they or someone they knew painted. Sometimes their critical judgments were keen and showed a deep appreciation of art values, such as the remarks of a farmer and square-dance caller who said, "You know, curves are nicer than straight lines; they bring a picture around better." (He saw rhythmic composition.) And he added, "I don't like loud colors; they're like blowing a horn to get attention. Colors should be like good music, not blasts out of a trumpet."

The heartfelt appreciation of the people we came to know moved us to give paintings to some of them. We delivered the pictures as surprises and were well rewarded when we saw their eyes open wide with pleasure and noted how lovingly they handled the gifts. After all, we thought, if art belongs to the people, what more fitting setting for a painting of "ordinary" folk than an "ordinary" home? So, for example, a square-dance study went into the square-dance caller's dining room and a painting of an old, sooty, floodwater house went into the living room of that house. And on the latter hangs a tale.

One winter evening as we were hiking back from the hills, we heard a cry of help from the porch of the floodwater house. We scurried up, and there was the woman of the house shivering with cold, swaying from foot to foot, and reeking of alcohol. (She worked in town as a charwoman and occasionally got drunk on paydays.) She begged us to help her get inside; she could not open the door. We scrambled around the place trying to force a door or window. My wife suddenly thought that the woman might have the key in her purse and was simply too drunk to get it out. Sure enough, the key was there, and we opened the door and walked the woman in. We groped for matches in the kitchen and lit the kerosene lamp in the living room. And there on the wall out of the gloom appeared our painting as though conjured up by Aladdin's lamp. It almost bowled me over. the

bright flower foreground lighting up the dirty clapboard background under a clean glass cover and bounded by a dark walnut frame. Picture and room seemed to complement each other. As my wife said afterward, in that room the picture was just right.

Our paintings of course have been hung in other places than homes: at the university gallery from time to time, in a photographer's showcase downtown, in the electric company's display window on Main Street, and in Clark's Chapel, a small country church three miles out of town. We have put them up, too, in our living room for informal gatherings.

A problem at first was how to bring the paintings to the community. Plain people just did not come to the university gallery, perhaps they were too much awed by the university atmosphere and felt out of place in any of the halls of learning. The electric company, very community-minded, offered its display space, and for two weeks showed the entire series in successive sections beginning with the downtown group and ending with countryside ones. We were told, to our great pleasure, that the exhibit attracted more interest than any display in years.

The most "community" showing was that in Clark's Chapel, itself the subject of one of the paintings. On a Sunday morning, before preaching services, I held up one by one to a wide-eyed congregation of children, youths, and elders the paintings of the chapel and of country scenes around it. I explained briefly the story behind the composition of each picture, and we had a short discussion afterward in which the children spoke out as well as the grownups. It developed, as with other farm audiences, that the favorite painting was the mailbox study, three mailboxes looming up like sentinels at a crossroads against a background of barbed wire and snowy fields.

IV

The community approach to art in the survey form elaborated above is not of course the only approach. We offer it with the

feeling that it has definite value in its contributions to art education and its implications for the democracy of art. It is, in its own right, social art and serves to further the process of socialization.

We may make, in summary, then, the following statements about this approach. It is a way of making the community art conscious and socially conscious. People take note of painting subjects close to home, heretofore overlooked; they find with pleasure that they and their surroundings are good themes for art, that art belongs to them, too. They become more aware of themselves, their fellows, and the world they live in.

It begins art appreciation at home, where it should begin, and at the comprehension level of the common people who make up most of the human world.

It aids in providing a wide audience for the artist, thereby answering one of his vital needs, and brings artist and audience intimately close.

It helps build culture at the grass roots, on the broadest of foundations, therefore, where it can take hold firmly and develop widely and vigorously. Art becomes popular in the best meaning of the term.

It contributes, then, toward the building of real democracy which in a profound sense is a sharing of culture.

Arthur Katona is a member of the Department of Effective Living, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan.

AGRICULTURAL NOMADS ALONG THE ATLANTIC COAST

Luveta W. Gresham

The mobility of the American people has always been one of this country's main assets. The ability of workers to shift from one area or section of the country to another, remain there perfectly contented, or return to the former place of settlement has been successfully demonstrated from the time of the settlements along the Atlantic Coast to the latter-day defense settlements in Alaska.

However, a changing civilization has caused many changes in our agricultural and industrial patterns. In keeping with this thesis, it seems to be established definitely that the technological improvements and mechanization of farm activities have decreased the demand for farm labor. A new type of agricultural worker, the harvester of seasonal crops, has developed as a result of technology on the land. This worker brings with him many problems that he as an individual must face and the forty-eight states and the Federal Government co-operating together must solve.

The Problem

The problem of migratory workers involves their living conditions in the state of settlement and their living and working conditions in the state of temporary domicile. This problem has many phases, including poor housing; lack of proper sanitation for the health of the workers; long working hours, especially for women and children; and low wages. It also involves the lack of proper educational facilities for children and the youth.

Another important issue arises in the placing of the responsibility for correcting the evils that attend migratory labor. In the many hearings held by the United States Government to inquire into conditions of migrants, all witnesses agreed that there was a

problem. Chairman Tolan and the other representatives of the national government and the state governments agreed that relief for these people is a problem of Federal Government as well as the states. Chairman Tolan stated in addition that the problem should be handled in the same manner as the "free flow of commodities through states." One is a citizen of his own state and of the other forty-seven, too. The representative of the Governor of Virginia took a similar view. He felt that the problem was one for national authority as well as the local counties and the state.

There are many opinions on the causes or the background of seasonal migrations. Former Mayor La Guardia of New York City emphasized the fact that the movement was not new but had been given impetus by two improvements: (1) the more convenient and rapid means of transportation, and (2) technological displacement of labor on the farms. Again, William H. Stauffer, Commissioner of Public Welfare of Virginia, gave several views on why people move from one place to another. He stated that the motivating factors which cause able-bodied workers to migrate arise from economic self-interest. On the other hand, according to Stauffer, the basic cause of seasonal migration is a system of agricultural economy that does not provide a year-round labor market for all individuals whose services are required in the growing and harvesting of crops. In keeping with this viewpoint, Ham states that there was a time when the farm laborer rented a small farm, saved up his money, and purchased a place of his own. He further states that the hired man was a member of the family, eating with them and sharing in their plans. Now, with the changing era, a different picture is screened. There is a vast army of farm laborers "drifting over the country not rooted to the soil, homeless, unemployed a large part of the time, able to provide only the most miserable living conditions for their children and hopeless of ever doing any better." The bulk of this army of farm laborers moves from the Southeast

section of the country. The Southern hearings of the Tolan investigating committee were held in Montgomery, Alabama. At this time it was brought out that the South's contribution to future migration is likely to be large. Dr. Rupert B. Vance pointed out that the need in that area is great and the Southern people are in the habit of moving for better opportunities. He also suggested that the only alternative to greatly increased migration is a more rapid industrial development than exists. Dr. Vance expressed the opinion that more migration would have taken place during the depression but it was retarded by a comparatively lower living standard and the lower educational status of the masses. He further stated that the real difficulty lay in the failure of expansion of economic opportunity to keep pace with population increase.

Tolley, of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, suggested that these seasonal workers are the economic and social casualties of the changes which have come to society. The great increase in the number of migratory workers is an indication that employment in other fields is lacking. Deplorable conditions of housing and sanitation, poor health, and poor educational advantages go hand in hand with seasonal employment. Finally, these conditions are problems of the communities, states, and the nation as a whole.

It is interesting to discover who these migrants are and how they move. Katherine Lenroot states that 2,000,000 nomad workers of this country look to agriculture for a living. One third of these are children, who suffer the greatest privations and longest from migrant life. Of this group, New York needs from 10,000 to 20,000 to aid in harvesting its crops. New Jersey employs 9,000 migrant workers: 4,000 Negroes from Florida, Georgia, and North and South Carolina, and 5,000 Italians, chiefly from Philadelphia. In Virginia the estimate is that 5,000 to 6,000 are engaged in harvesting the seasonal crops.

Since one third of these workers are children, it is especially interesting to see what type of farm work the children perform that is normally done by adults.

There are about 150,000 farms with about 17,000,000 acres under cultivation in New York. New York ranks high in the production of such perishables as beans, peas, tomatoes, corn, celery, cherries, strawberries, raspberries, peaches, apples, and other foods that must be carefully harvested. New Jersey, Delaware, and Virginia all have similar crops. Louisiana imports seasonal workers for the strawberry season only. The sugar-cane plantations tend to employ workers in various odd jobs the year round. Each of these crops has a definite period of harvesting.

For example, in Virginia the seasonal work begins with the strawberry season which lasts from four to six weeks. When the strawberry season is over, other crops are ready. This goes on until the harvesting period is over, not only in Virginia but in the cranberry bogs of New Jersey, the small fruit orchards of New York, and in the farms along the northeastern coast as far as Maine.

The living conditions of the migrants are found to be substandard and altogether undesirable. During 1944, the Consumer League conducted an investigation into the living, working, and social conditions of the seasonal workers in New York. The study showed that hundreds of families lived in dirt and squalor, were shunned by the people of the community, and were often cheated and relegated to living facilities comparable only to the worst slums. Migrant labor, where family units are employed, is usually recruited by the local growers and canners with or without the help of the United States Employment Service. However, in one New York workers' camp, the Federal Public Housing Authority provides housing facilities for migrant families employed in agriculture.

Stauffer, in discussing the housing conditions on the Eastern

Shore, agreed that housing conditions, as far as the migrants are concerned, are bad. On the other hand, by comparison, ". . . it is no worse than that of the permanent workers in that area." However, in contrast to what Stauffer admits about the Eastern Shore area are the findings on living conditions in the Norfolk truck-farm region. The laborers in this region were housed in one-room shacks, slept on hay or on wooden crates, cooked over campfires, and had no facilities for privacy. Often several families occupied the same room. One shack had three rooms. Each sheltered men, women, and children. In addition to this housing, there is the migrant-labor trailer camp operated by the Federal Public Housing Authority in New York State to house white families from the mountains of Kentucky. Small children were often locked in trailers all day. Six- or seven-year old children were in charge of the young babies. The manager tried to make a playground but there was no one delegated to supervise the play of these children, and they took perverse pleasure in destroying their own play facilities.

However, New York's federal trailer camp is clean and well kept. There is a trailer for each family, with comfortable furniture, heating and cooking stoves, and running water. Each trailer can be converted into two private rooms by folding doors.

In most instances, workers were recruited by agents of the farmers, who usually sent out trucks for the workers, or by padrones or contractors who engaged in the business of furnishing harvesters to the farmers. Securing laborers through contract can be done in two ways: (1) the farmers contract for laborers themselves, or (2) they contract for the harvesting of the crops and do not concern themselves about the workers. In the event that the farmer makes his own plans, he may write to Southern workers or wherever he has standing arrangements with groups of workers, who return to his farm every year. In a third instance, laborers may apply for work. These may be floating workers, or they may have made their arrangements in advance.

Another disturbing factor in the seasonal work is the low wages and the lack of contracts between workers and the employers or the agents. It is true, however, that families engaging in the harvesting of crops are not given the protection afforded industrial workers for the simple reason that they do not come under the state's Workmen's Compensation Act. They receive no compensation for injuries unless voluntarily insured by the farmers. Again they are not included under the state's minimum-wage law nor the federal wages-and-hours law. They do not have union protection in their wage promises or their living conditions.

In the matter of their wages, workers are idle sometimes days and weeks because farmers cannot be definite about the ripening period of the harvest. During 1944 there was a shortage of man power and prices tended to soar. Peas and beans brought fifty cents a bushel, while carrots, corn, cabbage, and celery paid fifty cents per hour for women and sixty-five cents an hour for men for harvesting. This was certainly an improvement over thirty-five and forty cents respectively in 1942, and ten and twelve cents in 1937.

It must be stated that the prices in New York were not the average prices paid workers. For example, in Louisiana the wages averaged \$1.50 per day. In other places the prices were more or less than \$1.50 per day. Pickers in the North worked all summer sometimes without actually clearing any money above their expenses. After all, it evidently depends upon ingenuity and the saving habits of the individual workers and family units in regard to the amount of money earned or cleared. Evidence in support of this view may be found in the studies of the New York seasonal workers by Mattensen and Close. In instances where all were paid the same wage, some saved from \$75 to \$300 per season, while others put away nothing and were left stranded.

Another important phase of the problem is the educational facilities of the rural sections and the states in which the workers

are employed. In discussing the Virginia problem, Stauffer stated that there was no problem in Virginia because schools are closed at the time when seasonal crops are being harvested. However, the children employed on the truck farms around Norfolk were retarded because of their employment. "Thirteen per cent of the Negro children had attended less than half and two-thirds had attended less than 70 per cent or more of the term" Furthermore, "The extent of retardation among the children included was greater than that among any other group of rural child workers studied by the Children's Bureau" In a similar manner, in New Jersey, migratory farm workers in 1931 averaged a loss of two months' schooling, and over 60 per cent were retarded. Migratory work extends from March or April to October or November. The local school authorities were not interested in the school attendance of the migrant children because they were not citizens of the state. The New Jersey child-labor law of 1940 provides for a minimum age of twelve years for children employed in agriculture with a maximum of ten hours a day. Also, when schools are in session in the farm districts, no children under sixteen may be employed. The only exemptions are those children who are working on the farms of their parents. This law, however, is not strictly enforced and does not apply to migratory children.

According to Bowman's report, the problem in Pennsylvania has existed mainly as an outgrowth of the cranberry harvest in New Jersey and the canning industry in Maryland. Migratory labor has not created any serious difficulty in the state due to the strict application of the school code requiring strict attendance and the issuance of work permits by school authorities. The enforcement of these two rules almost prohibits the use of children in industries employing migratory labor in Pennsylvania. However, there is a slight flow of labor in the southern part of the state during the harvesting and canning season, but the inspection bureau enforces the state laws as they apply to women

and children. It is interesting to note the states that recognize the educational needs of children in migratory and transient families. The laws of Pennsylvania, California, Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio, and the District of Columbia include such clauses. Most of the provisions affecting migratory children have been enacted in recent years as the migrations of families became more acute. However, an analysis of school laws has shown that only a few states have enacted school legislation to compel the attendance of migrant children. On the other hand, a few of the compulsory school laws are sufficiently broad to cover all children in the community. It was shown in the New York study that children from the substandard schools in the South find it difficult to adjust to the standards and routines of the better equipped schools of the industrial North.

It seems illogical that the farm population is expected to train 31 per cent of the nation's children on 9 per cent of the nation's income. Indeed, the lack of educational facilities is not due to unwillingness of the Southern states to support the schools, as was stated by the President's Advisory Council on Education, but to the fact that there is a larger population of very-low-income citizens who are unable to pay higher taxes. Thus the rural youth is handicapped in his effort to get urban employment. If the country schools could include vocational education for industrial employment as well as vocational education for farming, a greater percentage of the rural population could be absorbed in industry. Since there are more children and young people on farms than will be able to earn a living "and live well by farming," part of the educational system should be geared to fit them to earn a living away from the farm.

Consideration should also be given to the health phase of the problem. Stauffer estimated that 4,000 to 6,000 migrants created a serious health problem in two counties of the Eastern Shore, Virginia. The welfare department tried to dispose of any destitute

cases by sending them back to their former homes. The employers are reluctant to assume responsibility for their care. However, in the southern counties of Pennsylvania, sanitary conditions are dangerous. Negro workers are brought in from Baltimore to harvest the crops, and when they are ill they become public charges.

Again, despite New York's excellent health laws, conditions among migrants are deplorable. They are temporary residents, and temporary permits to operate camps are secured. Before the authorities have an opportunity to check, these sites are abandoned.

The Solution to the Problem

When the causes of the migratory problem and the problem itself have been investigated, one's attention is focused on the improvement made or planned. Carter Goodrich is of the opinion that the problem will not be solved by net migration into agriculture. The traditional move has been from agriculture to manufacture, but three-fourths of wage jobs in 1899 and today are found in the two hundred of the three thousand counties in the United States. The government should preserve and encourage mobility, but give it sure purpose and direction. In a similar manner, Smith advocates that methods to improve conditions should expand in two directions: (1) to provide greater opportunities for farm laborers to become tenants and later farm owners, and (2) to improve the welfare of farm laborers while they are laborers.

Vance's solution to the problem is industrialization of the South. According to Vance, migration is a safety valve for the South.

In Tolley's opinion, it is not migration that is undesirable, but the unguided, aimless wandering that has resulted in the present problem of agricultural migration. Tolley also suggests future adjustment through land settlement. The Mississippi Delta and

the Pacific Northwest afford available territory to settle 62,500 families on 80-acre farms, or 125,000 families on 40-acre farms. This gives opportunity for the development of at least 150,000 new farms.

In view of the evidence cited, seasonal migration is a necessity and is highly desirable. However, the problems arising from a lack of guidance and supervision must be eradicated through careful planning of housing, sanitation, transportation, and available work by the national government, states, and local communities. In addition, provision must be made for uniform laws governing wages and hours. Laws controlling the education of migratory children as well as resident children are highly recommended. In poor areas, the Federal Government should supplement the states in caring for the needs of its future citizens.

Luzeta W. Gresham is a teacher of social studies in the Randall Junior High School, Washington, D. C.

NEGRO EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH *

J. D. Messick

Seventeen states and the District of Columbia have laws requiring separate schools for white people and for Negroes. They are: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, the District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia

Arizona and Kansas have mandates separating children in the elementary schools, and Kansas requires segregation on the secondary level in first-class cities. Surprisingly enough, until about a decade ago there was a law in New York permitting segregation.¹

The ratio of Negroes to the remainder of the population of the South varies in range from 6 per cent in Missouri to 50 per cent in Mississippi. The 9 million Negroes living in those states constitute about 23 per cent of the total population of the states and 81 per cent of all the Negroes living in the United States.

Public schools. According to the United States Bureau of the Census in 1942, there were 11,742,870 children between the ages of five and seventeen in the above Southern states and the District of Columbia. Of these, 8,915,305 were white and 2,827,565 were Negro. In the elementary schools there were 7,350,663 white and 2,386,476 Negro children. In secondary schools there were 1,745,881 or 23 per cent of the white children but only 11.4 per cent of the Negro children between the ages of five and seventeen were in the high schools.

Statistics show that there has been a greatly increased interest in education on the part of Negroes. From 1929 to 1940 the total

* The data used in this article are the latest available in view of intervening war years which have made revised data impossible to secure

¹ Editorial note, *Journal of Negro Education*, IV (1935), 289-292

increase in the Negro population in the area studied was 7.2 per cent. The total enrollment in the above ages was enhanced only 6.4 per cent. The enrollment for the elementary grades increased only .2 per cent, but that of secondary pupils jumped 126.1 per cent. The average daily attendance of all Negro students improved 18.7 per cent. The per cent of the school population enrolled among the Negroes was 9.3 per cent better in 1940 than a decade earlier and that of high-school pupils was 114.3 per cent better. There were 33,784 high-school students graduated in 1942.

For the year 1941-1942, including the elementary and high schools, the length of the school year varied from 157 days for white and 138.6 days for Negro children in Alabama to 187.8 days for white and 186.7 days for Negro children in Maryland. The length of school terms has an average increase in all the states of 18.2 per cent, which is from 132 days in 1929 to 156 days in 1940.

The teacher situation has been greatly improved also. In the elementary school there were 16.5 per cent more men and 14.2 per cent more women in 1940 than ten years previously. However, in the high schools the percentage of men increased 139.5 and that of women 112.2.

Colleges. There are 23 state schools for the training of teachers for Negro pupils. Of these, North Carolina has five, and Georgia has three. Some of these were established under the Morrill Act which appropriated money for land-grant colleges for the teaching of agriculture and the industries. The act specified that the fund included Negro as well as white students, and in order to get the money the state had to establish colleges for Negroes. And now all of the Southern states have agricultural and mechanical colleges with normal departments for Negroes.

The first normal school established in the South was the Lincoln Normal University at Marion, Alabama, in 1873. In 1887 the school was moved to Montgomery and the name was changed to the State Normal School for Colored Students. It is the largest

college for the training of Negro teachers in the world. Yet its beginning was very humble. It was started by William Burns Patterson of Scotland, a descendant from the brother of Tommy Burns. He came to this country to work among the Negroes because he was thwarted in going to Africa as a missionary.

In 1941 the total enrollment of undergraduate Negro students in Negro colleges and universities was 34,453 and that of graduate students 1,790. The number for that year in the "white" colleges and universities is not available, but in 1943 there were 1,404 undergraduate and 39 graduate Negro students enrolled in those institutions.

Universities. There are only eleven colleges which offer graduate work for Negroes in the South. They are: Alabama State College; Xavier University in New Orleans; Howard University in Washington, D.C.; Fisk University in Nashville; Atlanta University in Atlanta; Hampton Institute in Hampton, Virginia; the North Carolina College for Negroes in Durham; the University of Missouri; Virginia State College for Negroes in Ettrick; and Prairie View University in Texas.

Only Meharry Medical College, on the campus adjacent to Fisk University in Nashville, and Howard University in Washington prepare students in medicine. Howard University and the North Carolina College for Negroes are the only reputable schools to offer degrees in law to Negroes only.

Seven Southern states provide graduate scholarships. These states are Florida, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia.

Libraries. Libraries constitute a worthy part of an educational program, and this is another area where there is discrimination. In a survey conducted by Louis R. Wilson and Edward A. Wright in 1935 as related in the article, "County Library Service in the South," public libraries were reported in 13 Southern states, but only 94, or 18 per cent, of these served Negroes.² Forty-eight

² Chicago The University of Chicago Press, 1935, pp. 81, 509

of these were found in Kentucky, Texas, and West Virginia, whose populations are 9 per cent, 15 per cent, and 7 per cent Negro, respectively, and taken together include but 14 per cent of the Negroes in all of the 13 states. North Carolina has 12 libraries serving Negroes, and these bring the total in the 4 of the 13 states to 60 of the 94 public libraries, but they serve only 24 per cent of the total Negro population of the states surveyed. The whole library picture for the South is bad, as attested to by a study reported by Tommie Dora Baker in an article, "Libraries of the South."⁸ She stated that 66 per cent of the total white and Negro population in the South had no public libraries in their communities.

The Rosenwald Fund has done and is doing a great deal to stimulate library service in 11 counties of 7 Southern states. The money is provided on a matching basis, but most of the service is carried on through the public schools as branch libraries.

A state law in West Virginia requires all libraries receiving public funds to give service to Negroes. And a law in Texas states that proper provision for library service to Negroes be made through branches of the county free library. Thus, it is easily seen why these two states in 1935 provided over one third of the public libraries servicing the Negroes of these 13 states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

Discrimination. For the past few years there has been a gradual closing of the vast differential in the per capita expenditure for the white and Negro child in the Southern area, but there is still a great deal of discrimination. In North Carolina, as in a few other states, single salary schedules for elementary and secondary teachers as well as for white and Negro teachers are in practice.

According to the *Negro Handbook*, the figures for 1940 show that Mississippi spent \$52.01 for each white child and \$7.36 for

⁸ *Bulletin of the American Library Association*, 1936

each Negro child. Separate per capita expenditure figures for white and Negro children were not available for Virginia, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia, but of all the other states in the region, Oklahoma showed to the best advantage in the equalization with \$42.22 being expended for each white and \$40.38 for each Negro child.

The South is poor The South has tremendous handicaps which it can do little about. It has only 15 per cent of the nation's wealth but about 35 per cent of the nation's children. In 1938 the national per capita wealth was \$2,327; in the South it was \$1,500 (this does not include the District of Columbia). The national income per inhabitant was \$480, but that of the seventeen states was only \$339.

Let us look at the picture still more realistically. The South, although highly industrial in certain areas, is still primarily rural. And not only is it rural, but the majority of the people are tenants. In the twelve states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia, the average per cent of tenants in the entire population is 58.4. There are more Negro tenants where the Negro population is greatest, of course, but the revealing fact is that there are more white tenants than Negro tenants in the South, and they are increasing every year according to Charles William Dabney.⁴

This increase in tenancy poses a great problem. It is an obvious fact that to be the most efficient and useful citizen one must have roots so deeply planted that one feels a great deal of security in belonging. Therefore, just so long as the existing situation remains, the South must lag. A few must bear the brunt of the cost of what progress is made. Your answer is that this is true anywhere, and I agree, but the differential is too great for the

⁴ *Universal Education in the South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936), p. 485.

South to bring its educational advantages abreast of the East regardless of how much it should try

Mr. Dabney takes a typical case of a white tenant in Alabama and says that a one-plow tenant farmer earns from \$70 to \$80 a year. If he is a two-plow tenant he earns about twice the amount. And from this must come his clothes, groceries, and general expenses. Many landlords permit gardens, which help considerably, but some tenants are so void of vision that they do little about them and, as a result, almost starve to death. This is particularly true among the Negroes

In the past twenty-five years many Negroes have moved North and to urban areas of the South, but about one half of the total Negro population of the country is still on Southern farms. And when they move to urban areas it does not mean that they are any more able to finance their education than when they were on a farm. Often they are in a worse condition. The same is true of itinerant white people.

Many of the financial leaders say they should not have to bear the burden of educating the Negro and the poor white. You say the Negro and the poor white make his money for him. Granting that, one must admit that the burden is great. The average per capita wealth in the Southern states is about one half of that of the remainder of the country. Only eleven states have a per capita wealth of less than \$2,000 and all of those are in the South, according to a report from the Rosenwald Fund.

Benefit from foundations. The movement to help raise the standard of education of the people in the South began in 1898 at Capon Springs, West Virginia, when thirty-six representatives, white and Negro men from both the North and South, met in response to a request from Dr. Edward Abbott, an Episcopal clergyman of Cambridge, Massachusetts. That was the notable beginning of many similar meetings from which emerged many foundations for the promotion of education. But despite the fact

that the South has benefited from many of the 129 educational foundations in this country and has done much on its own accord, it is still far short of the desired objective as compared with the rest of the country. And too frequently the type of education provided has not been wisely selected for those who will not go beyond the high school.

Misplaced emphasis in education. It is a pretty well determined fact that not more than 10 per cent of the Negro high-school graduates will go to college for some years yet. The same applies to the tenant class of white people. In spite of that fact, almost all of them want a classical high-school education. That is not what is needed, and the attention and interest of the Southern educators will have to be caught by the motivating impulse that inspired Colonel Samuel C. Armstrong, President of Hampton Institute, and his protege, Booker T. Washington who believed that vocational education was the saving factor for the Negro in the South. That belief is becoming more popular with the thinking educators of the country, but in actual practice there seems to be rather slow progress. Very few rural schools, comparatively, have vocational departments such as automobile mechanics, industrial arts, painting, woodworking, and carpentry. And so far as the Negro schools are concerned, only a few have agricultural departments. Many of them do have home-economics departments for the girls, but not even that is universally true. The Smith-Hughes Act of 1917, providing for vocational education, and the Smith-Lever Act which came soon after, providing for farm demonstration, have helped the rural South a great deal to bring the practical to the knowledge of those most in need.

The Penn Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School at St. Helena Island, South Carolina, is a great example of what can be done for rural boys and girls. It was established in 1862 as the first Negro secondary school in the South. It is intensely utilized by the student teachers from the Negro colleges in South Carolina,

and realizing that more schools of that type are needed, there is a movement through the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes to try out vocational experiments in other secondary schools of the South

Supervision There was no supervision of Negro schools before 1906 Its inception was rather incidental Miss Virginia Randolph, a Negro teacher in a rural school in Enrico County, Virginia, was a splendid instructor And she had an excellent superintendent from 1906 to 1910 in the person of Jackson Davis When he visited her he always found the school neat and clean and something new added each time On one visit, when he and she were discussing the Negro-school situation, she asked him if she might visit other Negro schools to help them start some work in industrial arts and show them how to improve their work in general He agreed and provided a substitute for her every Friday while she visited schools In that way Negro supervision of schools began in the United States, and in 1944 there were 452 Jeanes supervisors in the elementary schools of the South Even then in the 150 counties where one third of the Negroes live there were no supervisors, and in 150 other counties where there were only a few Negro teachers there were no Jeanes people However, the Southern Education Foundation plans to place 150 more in supervision as soon as possible

Effort to finance education Probably the fairest basis for judging a state on its educational effort is the amount of the tax dollar expended for education The average state in the Union spends 40 per cent of all tax collections for education The average for the Southern states is about 2 per cent more Only eight states spend more than 50 per cent of their collected taxes for education, New York pays less than 35 per cent of its tax dollar because of its riches Georgia and Florida pay less than 35 per cent because of their poverty

Inequalities elsewhere One does not have to go to the Southern

states to find inequalities of educational opportunities, however. They are all around us. In the state of New Jersey, school tax rates in Bergen County in 1941 ran from 3 cents on the \$100 assessed wealth in Bendix to \$3.94 on the \$100 assessed wealth in Northvale. And yet Bendix received \$140.39 to spend for each of its children while Northvale had only \$121.22 with more than a hundred times the effort. Medford Lakes in New Jersey spent \$304.33 per year for each of its children in 1941, while Berlin Township in Camden County spent only \$56.29 per child. And at that, Berlin Township paid \$3.36 for every \$100 of taxable wealth while Medford Lakes paid only \$1.43. Situations throughout the state are consistently unequal in both costs and provisions.

Is poverty in one part of New Jersey a responsibility of the remainder of the state? I think so. Are economic conditions of the South a responsibility of the nation? I think so. Why do I? The Southern states are still a part of the United States—believe it or not. Many of the people from the South migrate to other sections of the country—as I have done. The South is poor but it sends millions of dollars to other parts of the nation, not only in its trade but also in taxes paid to the Federal Government. North Carolina, for instance, which stands about fifth from the top among states in the nation in this respect, pays more than twenty times what it receives in return.

Recommendation. I can see only one possible solution for an equalization of education opportunity and that is for the Federal Government to take into consideration the per capita wealth and income of the different states and then, where necessary, to provide funds through the state departments of education to bring up the differential to the national average, or to whatever is necessary to assure an adequate program of education commensurate with desirable standards

J. D. Messick is President of the East Carolina Teachers College, Greenville, North Carolina

AN ATTEMPT TO MEASURE "CRIBBING" IN OBJECTIVE EXAMINATIONS

James D. Weinland

The following study is an attempt to measure "cribbing" in the regular weekly, objective-answer class quizzes given throughout a semester of the college year to one class of thirty-eight students.

The procedure was as follows: two forms of the quizzes, "A" and "B," were prepared; the A quizzes were for the students in even-numbered seats, the B quizzes for students in the odd-numbered seats. Some of the questions were found in both forms of the quiz, some of the questions were found in only one form, as follows:

TABLE I

	<i>Form A</i>	<i>Form B</i>
Question	1	1
	2	2
	3	3
	4	4
	5	9
	6	10
	7	11
	8	12

The questions were scrambled but there were enough "same" questions in each form so that a reasonably alert and moderately industrious cribber could notice that the person sitting next to him had some of the same questions he did as well as some "different" questions. The students "caught on" to this before long, although nothing was said to them about the arrangement of the questions, and they were administered throughout the semester in the usual way. The instructor did not encourage cribbing; neither did he give any warnings, nor make any comments in regard to copying answers.

The assumptions depended upon were these: (1) Cribbing would be very much easier and hence more frequent on the questions that were the same throughout the whole class (2) The semester grades should be slightly higher on the easy-to-crib questions, than on the hard-to-crib questions. The same and different questions were matched in difficulty by assembling all questions and assigning them on a chance basis as same questions or different questions. Any irregularity in difficulty should have been averaged out before the semester was over. All questions were of the usual multiple choice or true-false type.

Specifically the procedure was: (1) only questions having the same number of choice answers were used, (2) a like number of same and different questions were used, (3) the right answers were counted and their percentage of the whole was calculated. The results are given below

TABLE 2

<i>Same Questions</i>		<i>Different Questions</i>		
<i>Quiz Number</i>	<i>Form A and B</i>	<i>Form A</i>	<i>Form B</i>	<i>Averaged A and B</i>
1	62.50	100.00	100.00	100.00
2	54.16	91.67	88.89	90.28
3	84.70	100.00	91.22	95.61
4	94.18	59.09	93.75	76.42
5	98.51	59.09	96.88	77.99
6	66.17	35.49	89.19	62.34
7	98.51	64.51	83.78	74.15
8	58.43	41.98	83.78	62.88
9	88.41	58.33	100.00	79.17
10	97.10	83.33	87.88	85.61
11	100.00	97.22	90.33	93.78
12	70.15	96.67	54.29	75.48
13	97.01	84.38	97.14	90.76
14	94.04	90.63	80.00	85.33
15	50.00	78.57	92.87	85.72
16	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Average	82.12			83.45

The standard error of the difference between the averages is 21.

The average percentage correct of same and different questions in the *replies of thirty-eight students in sixteen class quizzes*

The difference in the averages above is not significant, and though possibly the variability of the data might hide a weak-cribbing effect, a constant, marked cribbing error should be observable

To check this result the data were examined in another way. Same and different questions were checked again in the answers of three cribbers and three "Honest Abes." These cribbers and noncribbers were picked out by the instructor of the class on the basis of his observations. Although he had made no comments during the semester he had observed as carefully as possible in a more or less casual manner. He felt quite sure some individuals had cribbed and that certain others had not, or had cribbed very little. The comparison of these suspected cribbers and noncribbers in their scores on the same and different questions of six quizzes, for which they were all present, is given below

TABLE 3 *

	<i>Noncribbers</i>	<i>Cribbers</i>
	<i>Per Cent Correct</i>	<i>Per Cent Correct</i>
Same questions	85.70	71.75
Different questions	85.70	87.20

* Per cent correct responses of three suspected cribbers and three supposed noncribbers to the same and different questions of six quizzes

The results of this check of particular students are again negative and leave the study with four possible conclusions

Conclusions

It is possible to conclude from this study that either

A No cribbing took place

B The amount of cribbing was about equal with the same and different questions

C The variability of the data effectively hides any cribbing effect.

D. Such cribbing as did take place was not effective in raising grades.

In the opinion of the instructor and some of the students who were interviewed when all the results were in, conclusions *A* and *B* are untenable. It is almost certain that some cribbing took place since a number of the students were willing to admit that they had indulged in a "little" and had observed some more. It is very improbable that conclusion *B* is correct, since to crib on different questions would have required passing notes or signaling. Neither of these advanced techniques was observed by the instructor nor admitted by the interviewees. Conclusion *C* is possible. The data are quite variable and the study cannot be considered conclusive. The described technique is simple, however, and the study should be repeated by other workers and the results checked.

The most probable conclusion appears to be *D*. Some cribbing took place throughout the semester, but was not effective in raising grades. The reason for the ineffectiveness of the cribbing appears to be that when the students knew the answers they wrote them in, when they did not know the answer, they did not know whether the observed answers of their neighbors were right or wrong and did no better by cribbing than they would have done by guessing.

UNDERSTANDING THE COMMUNITY: COMMUNITY INCOME AND EXPENDITURE TABLES AN ESSENTIAL TOOL

Charles M. Armstrong

Today we think of economics in national terms; yesterday we thought in local terms; and only a little while before that we thought in family terms. When the family was the unit everyone understood that the relationship of production to consumption and distribution and it was so simple that it was no problem. Even when the local community was self-contained, cause-and-effect relationships were generally obvious because the community was in many respects just an overgrown family group. When easy communication and mass production changed our unit for economic thinking to the national level, the causes and the effects were widely separated and the intimacy and understanding of the older family relationship were lost. Our economics could only be understood by experts who drew their knowledge from masses of statistics compiled in impersonal reports. The experts have applied their learning and their patience into translating these reports on the national economy to simple terms that permit the average man to think that he understands or almost understands what is going on.

Meanwhile, the little units have been neglected. These little units, the local communities, are relatively simple and so the experts have spent little time on them. In fact many experts consider them unimportant cogs in the machine that scarcely have any economic identity at all. Masses of statistics are reported about the local communities, such as the amount of money invested in sewers, water works, and public utilities; the assessed valuation of real estate; the population, etc. Little effort has been made to develop statistics that would tell how the community

was performing as an economic unit. Few men know the proportion of the annual income of their home town that is produced and consumed inside the limits of the community. In fact few men even know how the annual income of their community in any given year compares with the previous year. Some have a vague idea that business and employment were better or worse one year than another but they have little idea of how much better. Without such information one cannot think of his home community as a distinct economic entity. A first requirement for a revival of the local community as a unit for economic thinking is the development of the necessary statistical tools so that thinking can be pulled out of its present vacuum.

Recent advances in statistical reporting have made usable estimates of community income and expenditures on the county level possible, at least in New York State, and a long step can now be taken, by utilizing this information, toward restoring the usefulness of the local community in public understanding of economic problems. The new statistics that make this advance possible are the wage reports resulting from the unemployment-insurance law. In New York State these wages earned in covered employment are reported by counties and by industries and, except for agriculture and profits resulting from investments, cover the most variable part of the community income. Reasonably good estimates for agriculture can be made from the voluminous statistics on agricultural production by counties and variations in agricultural prices. No satisfactory method of estimating profits has been found, but these are small enough in most communities to leave the results highly useful even though the profits cannot be estimated satisfactorily.

Now that usable estimates are available it is important that the appropriate governmental units should compile understandable statistical reports on local communities as economic entities. Once such a system of reporting is established refinements will be

developed, and in a few years people will have the tools to think of their local community as an economic unit selling goods to and purchasing goods from other community units

A suggested form for the community report is given in the tables below. The figures given are for Genesee County, New York. This county includes the small city of Batavia and a rich agricultural area and is the kind of community that can profit greatly from a better understanding of itself as an economic unit.

The report consists of two tables. The first table gives the data on how the people of the community obtain their purchasing power. The second shows where the community spends its purchasing power, in other words what it buys from other communities.

Table 1 is broken into three parts: income of individuals in the community arising from sales or activities outside the community; income of individuals arising from sale of goods or services to other people in the community; and income of individuals resulting from production of goods or services for themselves. The first part, income of individuals arising from sales or activities outside the community (county), is also the total income of the county considered as an economic unit. The second part is the commercial business carried on in the community to meet the local needs and represents the part of the commercial activity of the county that is really under local control and not immediately subject to the variations of the national economy. This is an area in which the local community can plan and make its plans effective. The third section, self-production, is not generally recognized as important because it is not commercialized, but it represents a large part of the activities on which the standard of living of a local community depends.

Looking at the figures for Genesee County, one can see that the big source of county income is the cash coming in as wages paid by employers selling outside the county. This provided

\$6,400,000 out of the \$13,700,000 estimated cash income of the county. The other big item was \$4,200,000 from the sale of agricultural produce. A review of the manufacturing plants of the county shows that they are largely dependent upon the construction and automobile industries. Both of these industries are subject to wide cyclical swings. Dollar income from agriculture is also subject to wide cyclical swings because of the price variations even when volume is stable. Thus the community is the "prince-and-pauper" type so far as income from outside the area is concerned.

TABLE I
ESTIMATED ANNUAL CASH INCOME OF GENESEE COUNTY, 1940

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Per Capita</i>
<i>Estimated Cash Income of County</i>		
Farm produce sold outside the county	\$4,200,000	\$94
Wages paid by employers selling outside the county	6,400,000	144
Commuters take home, spent in area		
Federal and state funds allocated to area	800,000	18
State and federal pay rolls	1,000,000	23
Unemployment insurance	400,000	9
Railroad employees	900,000	20
Insurance policies maturing, cashed, etc., in excess of premium payments	*	
Net new investments of outside funds	*	
Return on investments in outside enterprises	*	
<hr/>		
Total estimated income of the county as a whole	\$13,700,000	\$308
<i>Estimated Cash Income of Individuals Originating in County</i>		
Farm produce sold and consumed in county	\$700,000	\$16
Wages, salaries, and profits received by individuals from industries serving the local area	8,500,000	191
Paid out by governmental units	900,000	20
Net income from rent †	400,000	9

TABLE I—*Continued*

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Per Capita</i>
Local interest and financial transactions (except rent)	*	
Donations for social organizations	*	
<hr/>		
Total estimated income from internal cash transactions	\$10,500,000	\$236
<i>Home Income (Production)</i>		
Farm produce used on farms	\$400,000	\$9
Home produce (gardens, chickens, cows) other than farm	300,000	7
Home canning (farm and other)	300,000	7
Regular work of homemakers	‡ 9,500,000	213
Home production by men other than items included above (largely household and automotive repair)	300,000	7
<hr/>		
Total home income	\$10,800,000	\$243
<hr/>		
TOTAL INCOME	\$35,000,000	\$787

* Not available

† Does not include farms or owner occupied dwellings

‡ Annual value of homemaking; \$800 each for 11,900 occupied dwelling units

The cash income of individuals originating in the county is almost as large as the cash income of the community, and this is completely under local control and does not need to vary sharply with the variations of the business cycle. It is true that there is a strong tendency for people to stop using the local services when the outside income decreases. There is no inherent law of nature that requires this relationship, and a community such as Genesee County could maintain its internal activities to a large extent if the people were educated to save money during prosperity and spend money during depression. By such devices the local activities could be insulated from the business cycle.

The home activities should also be stimulated during dull periods. If the citizens are encouraged to repair their homes and to plant gardens during dull periods, the home income could be increased to partially offset the loss of income from outside the community and thereby keep the total community income relatively stable.

TABLE 2

MONEY PAID OUT OF GENESEE COUNTY FOR GOODS SOLD AT RETAIL, 1939

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Per Capita</i>
Food	\$2,486,000	\$56
General stores	209,000	5
General merchandise	1,189,000	27
Apparel	741,000	17
Furniture, household, and radio	534,000	12
Automobile	2,362,000	53
Filling station	1,113,000	25
Lumber, and building and hardware materials	1,078,000	24
Eating and drinking	670,000	15
Drug stores	312,000	7
Other stores	1,202,000	27
Total retail sales at cost to county	\$11,896,000	\$268

Table 2 shows that Genesee County spends a large part of its cash income for items whose purchase can be delayed in a time of crises. Purchase of durable goods can be delayed in periods when cash income is low in the county. The largest item of this kind is automobiles, which took \$2,362,000 of the \$11,896,000 of cash expenditure of the county in 1939. Lumber and building and hardware materials with a 1939 expenditure of \$1,113,000 are durable goods but they should not be included in the items to be delayed because they are raw material for local activities and the flow of such raw materials should be maintained. Furniture, household equipment, and radios, however, like automobiles, can

be delayed and this accounts for \$534,000 of cash expenditures. Among the consumer goods, a food-producing county like Genesee could economize on the amount of food purchased outside the community. Thus the county could, if organized to do it, meet a 25 per cent reduction in cash income by reducing its expenditures without appreciably lowering the current living standard of the people of the community.

These two tables take the mystery out of what happens in a local community during the ups and downs of the business cycle and show that much of the loss resulting from them could be eliminated if the individuals in the community knew what was really happening and had the courage to act logically. Moreover they would be invaluable in settling labor-management conflicts because the presentation of the true status of the community would indicate the wage and profit level that would make the community income the greatest. This would give labor and management a common meeting ground

School Uses of County Data

Data of the type outlined in this article can be used to improve greatly the teaching of modern economic problems at the high-school level. Perhaps the first use would be to make the local community a recognizable economic unit to the student. The second obvious use is to demonstrate the community facts that should be considered in determining a proper local wage rate. One of the most serious labor difficulties in some communities is the lack of understanding on the part of both labor and management of the effect on the community of a change in wage rates. If a community is short of cash income from other communities it should keep its wage rates low so that the other communities would find it an economical place to buy. If interdependence is excessive, *i.e.*, if the community does not do enough work for itself, the community might logically raise its wage rates. Most students graduate from high school today without any adequate

criteria for judging the fairness of wages paid in their home towns.

A third very important fact is the importance of production for use in the family in practically all communities. This fact can be used to make home-economics training seem more significant to the students taking the courses. To the faculty planning the total curriculum, it should point to a re-orientation of school attention. There has been a tendency to overemphasize training for the types of work that bring cash into the community and to underemphasize the training that would encourage one to produce goods for his own use.

As has already been pointed out, an analysis of the data for a particular county will show the probable effect of a national depression on that county. The high-school social-studies program should be so planned that it will include an explanation of the cyclical characteristics of the community. Over a period of years, enough people would come to understand the characteristics so that there would be a good chance of taking wise community measures to minimize losses. Certainly many individuals would organize their lives better if they anticipated the probable cycle of events in their community. For instance, Genesee County, New York, is cyclically unstable. Most of its income comes from agriculture, which has wide price swings, and durable goods manufacture, which is subject to drastic curtailments during depressions. Therefore, the resident of such an area should prepare himself to meet drastic financial curtailment.

Social-studies programs are frequently so general that a pupil does not feel that they are of direct assistance in planning his life. Local statistics of the type proposed in this article provide a new tool for relating social studies to the immediate future life of the student.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COUNTY SUPPORT OF EDUCATION IN GEORGIA AND CERTAIN SOCIOECONOMIC VARIABLES

John W. Morgan

A priori reasoning suggests that the amount of money spent by a county for education would be related to certain socioeconomic factors. Retail sales as a measure of wealth would seem to indicate the ability of a group to support education. Similarly, land values would seem to offer for an agricultural area another criterion. Also, in a section where Negro population plays such an important role as in Georgia, the per cent of Negro population would seem to be significant. Per cent of illiteracy offers some check of the value of education in the thinking of a people. Finally, the economic, social, and cultural importance of tenancy in the Southern regions suggests that this variable might be related to educational support.

The purpose of this study is to test the hypothesis that there is a relationship between educational support and certain socioeconomic variables by studying the relationship between the amount of money raised by a county for educational operation per enrolled pupil and the following socioeconomic variables: per capita retail sales; per cent illiteracy; per cent Negro population; land value per acre; and per cent tenancy. Data were obtained for all these variables for eighty-five of the eighty-eight counties of Georgia that were operating their public schools on a county-unit system. The three counties, Bibb, Chatham, and Richmond, which were not included although operating under county-unit systems, could be designated as highly urban and were for this reason excluded from the study in order to minimize the effects of urbanization. Since by 1940 the state had assumed responsibility for a seven-month school term in all counties, 1930 data were used.

Data relating to educational support were obtained from the *Biennial Report of the Department of Education of Georgia* for the years 1930-1932. For the variables, retail sales, illiteracy, Negro population, land value, and tenancy, data from the various volumes of the fifteenth census of the United States were used.

In order to reduce as much as possible the effect of the variations in size of counties, data for each variable were reduced to per capita, per acre, or per cent. The number and names of rural counties that had no local or independent school systems, the amount of school money raised through taxation by each county, and the total pupil enrollment were determined from the *Biennial Report of the Department of Education*. Using the total amount of school money raised by each county as a dividend and the total pupil enrollment as a divisor, educational support was calculated and used as a criterion. The per cent of illiteracy, per cent of Negro population, and value of farm lands and buildings per acre for each county studied were taken directly from the fifteenth census. From this same source, the ratios of tenants to all farm operators and to per capita retail sales were computed.

The means, sigmas, and zero-order correlations were calculated directly from raw data to avoid grouping errors. Griffin's endothetic formulas were used to compute the multiple correlation coefficient and the regression equation. The mean, sigma,

TABLE I

MEANS, SIGMAS, AND VARIABLE NUMBERS FOR SIX SOCIOECONOMIC VARIABLES

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Variable Number</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Sigma</i>
Educational support.	1	4 1728	2 2304
Retail sales	2	96 9823	47.8300
Illiteracy	3	11 2929	4 7180
Negro population	4	40 8423	21 9960
Land value	5	22 0489	8 0334
Tenancy	6	61 9494	18 2045

and number of each variable are shown in Table 1. In Table 2, the intercorrelations between the six socioeconomic variables are shown

TABLE 2
INTERCORRELATIONS OF SIX SOCIOECONOMIC VARIABLES

<i>Variable</i>	2	3	4	5	6
1	.1160	.1418	-.0793	-.0880	-.4524
2		-.0379	.1319	.2068	-.0427
3			.6924	-.1868	.3923
4				-.1783	.6867
5					.2855

When the multiple correlation coefficient was computed it was found that $R_{1.23456} = .5293$. The regression equation was found to be $\bar{X}_1 = -.1071X_2 - .1532X_3 + .1443X_4 + .1312X_5 - .1373X_6 + 13.1102$ and the standard error of estimate was $\sigma_{1.23456} = 1.8923$.

Within the limits of the data of this study, retail sales, land value, illiteracy, and Negro population have little predictive value in regard to the amount of money that a county will raise in support of education. The coefficient of correlation, .1160, found between educational support and retail sales, and -.0793, the coefficient of correlation found between educational support and per cent Negro population, although low, are in the directions that one would expect. The coefficients of correlation, .1418 between educational support and illiteracy, and -.0880, between educational support and land value, are low and contrary to what one would expect. The R obtained between educational support and per cent tenancy of -.4524 is the only significant correlation obtained between the criterion and the socioeconomic variables used in this study. Therefore, of the variables considered in this study, per cent of tenancy is the best single index of the amount of money that a county will raise in support of education.

A multiple R of six variables was found to be only

$$R_{1.29450} = .5293.$$

Prediction from a multiple R of six variables would therefore be only slightly more reliable than prediction from the coefficient of correlation obtained between educational support and tenancy, but, while this is a positive gain in predictive value, it is doubtful whether this slight increase of .0769 in predictive value is sufficient to warrant the extra work required to compute the regression equation. The need for other variables than Negro population, illiteracy, land value, and retail sales seems to be indicated.

Although these variables do not predict educational support, some implications for future study seem to be indicated by the fact that the two variables usually associated with ability to pay, retail sales and land value have little predictive value while the correlation between per capita educational support and per cent of tenancy was found to be significant. This suggests that there may be normative elements of action in the tenancy complex which would serve to minimize the importance of education and thereby educational support. Further investigation of the attitudes and values associated with tenancy on the part of both landlords and tenants may throw more light on the problem of educational support.

John W. Morgan is Chairman of the Division of Social Sciences of the Georgia State College for Women, Milledgeville, Georgia

CHILDREN'S INTERGROUP CONCEPTS AND STEREOTYPES

Rose Zeligs

Myths and legends contribute to the pattern of the child's social-cultural heritage. The contents and images of these myths and legends definitely associated with values highly colored with emotions and feelings are the stereotypes, the bases of prejudice. Knowledge of children's intergroup concepts and stereotypes is needed before they can be given correct patterns of other cultures. The purpose of this report is to present the most common concepts and stereotypes of races and nationalities and to note the trend of those concepts in twelve-year-old children.

The subjects of this study, tested in June 1931, were 200 sixth-grade, twelve-year-old children, with a large percentage of Jewish children, 98 per cent of whom were native-born. More than half their parents were also native-born, and many were of German-Jewish or Russian-Jewish descent. There were also Protestant, white, native-born children and a few Negro children. The average chronological age of the children was twelve years and the average mental age, according to the Otis Group Intelligence Test, was fourteen years and four months. The socioeconomic background, according to the Sims Score Card, was somewhat below "very high." The children attended a Cincinnati suburban public school whose enrollment was approximately 1,600 students in 1931 and somewhat less in 1944.

Other subjects were 174 twelve-year-old children of the same age, grade, school, and background, tested in June 1944, and another 100 similar subjects of the same school, tested in December 1944. The data for both 1944 groups were combined.

The children were given a racial-attitudes test which mentioned 38 races and nationalities in 1931, but with the list somewhat modified and changed to 39 races and nationalities in 1944.

Heading columns opposite the list were the following relationships: cousin, chum, roommate, playmate, neighbor, classmate, and schoolmate. The children were instructed to write the word "yes" for any relationship they were willing to have with any of the races and nationalities listed, and to write "no" if they were unwilling to allow such a relationship. The total number of "yeses" was considered the child's score in friendliness and the percentage of "yeses" for the race or nationality was used as the index of friendliness toward that group.

To obtain the children's concepts and stereotypes, the 39 races and nationalities listed on the test were written on the blackboard. The children were asked to write what they thought to be true, interesting sentences about each one. They were told to give their true feelings, to write quickly, and that spelling and penmanship would not count.

The children were also given association tests by being asked to write the first word or phrase that came into their minds as the tester read each of the races and nationalities listed on the racial-attitudes test. Another method was to have the children write a word or phrase describing the appearance, character, or personality of the race or nationality mentioned.

The ideas expressed in the sentences were tabulated to obtain the children's concepts and stereotypes. The data obtained by use of the association tests were also tabulated to get the children's concepts and stereotypes for each race and nationality mentioned. The reactions were grouped under "favorable," "unfavorable," "neutral," and "do not know" concepts for each race and nationality for 1931 and 1944. The most common and the second most common concepts for each race and nationality were noted.

The total of the most common concepts for each race and nationality comprised 30 per cent of all the concepts expressed by the children in 1931 and 28 per cent of those expressed in 1944. The total for the two most common concepts was 42 per cent in

TABLE I

RANKING OF RACES AND NATIONALITIES ACCORDING TO INDEX OF
FRIENDLINESS BY THE RACIAL-ATTITUDES TEST AND FAVORABLE
CONCEPTS GIVEN ON ASSOCIATION TESTS IN 1931 AND 1944

<i>Race or Nationality</i>	<i>Rank in 1931</i>		<i>Rank in 1944</i>	
	<i>Racial-Attitudes Test</i>	<i>Concepts</i>	<i>Racial Attitudes Test</i>	<i>Concepts</i>
American	1	1	1	1
Dutch	6	2	14	4
Greek	19	3	17	20
French	4	4	11	10
Norwegian	15	5	18	21
Spanish	16	6	16	15
Italian	21	7	25	24
English	2	8	2	8
Jewish		9	3	6
German	7	10	28	33
Scotch	17	11	20	11
Canadian	8	12	4	7
Swedish	13	13	21	19
American Indian	12	14	13	14
Polish	14	15	19	27
Irish	9	16	10	13
Finnish	31	17	35	23
Mexican	20	18	9	9
Japanese	11	19	36	38
Hungarian	23	20	27	25
Russian	10	21	5	12
Bulgarian	29	22	30	36
Danish	26	23	29	18
Czechoslovakian	28	24	26	22
Negro	34	25	31	28
Bohemian	35	26		
Hindu	33	27	37	32
Filipino	22	28	23	26
Turkish	27	29	24	35
Portuguese	30	30	23	34

TABLE 1—*Continued*

<i>Race or Nationality</i>	<i>Rank in 1931</i>		<i>Rank in 1944</i>	
	<i>Racial-Attitudes</i> <i>Test</i>	<i>Concepts</i>	<i>Racial-Attitudes</i> <i>Test</i>	<i>Concepts</i>
Syrian	36	31		
Roumanian	25	32	32	31
Serbian	38	33		
Arabian	32	34	34	30
Chinese	24	35	8	17
Armenian	37	36		
French Canadian	18	37	22	29
Mulatto	39	38	39	37
South American			6	16
Hawaiian			7	5
Australian			12	3
Swiss			15	2
Albanian			38	39

1931 and 39 per cent in 1944. The trend shows little change in favorable concepts, a slight increase in neutral ones, and a decrease in unfavorable concepts. The data suggest that many of these twelve-year-old children are definitely absorbing the social pattern of the group in regard to racial concepts and stereotypes.

What are the rankings of races and nationalities according to the index of friendliness obtained by the racial-attitudes test and by favorable concepts given on association tests in 1931 and 1944? Table 1 gives the ranking of races and nationalities obtained by both methods. In 1931 there were nine cases where a difference of ten or more places in rank were found. The concepts method gave a more favorable ranking than the racial-attitudes test to the Greek, Norwegian, Spanish, Italian, and Finnish, while the racial-attitudes test favored the Russian, Chinese, and French Canadian. In 13 cases there were from none to three place differences in the rankings given by the two methods in 1931. In 1944 there were 7 cases where a difference of ten or more rankings

were found between the attitudes-test index and the concepts method. Of these, more favorable rankings by the concepts method were expressed towards the Dutch, Finnish, Danish, and Swiss, while the racial-attitudes test method resulted in better ranking for the Turkish, Portuguese, and South American. The two methods used seem to be reliable ways of getting children's attitudes towards races and nationalities. The data suggest that for American, English, Scottish, American Indian, Dutch, Irish, Czechoslovakian, Negro, Filipino, Portuguese, and Roumanian, a pattern or stereotype has been pretty well set and accepted by these twelve-year-old children.

More favorable attitudes are indicated by rise in rank, from 1931 to 1944, for the Chinese, Russians, Mexicans, French Canadians, and Canadians. Going down in estimation since 1931 are the Germans, Japanese, Italians, Norwegians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Polish, Spanish, French, and Finnish.

Meltzer's (1) findings for 1934 and 1938 are in many cases similar to the ranking found by the concept method in 1944.

What per cent of concepts for each of 38 races and nationalities in 1931 and 39 races and nationalities in 1944, are most common, whether "favorable," "neutral," "unfavorable," and "do not know"? According to Table 2, the per cent of the most common concept varied from 5 to 99 with the highest per cent for "do not know" as the most common concept. For 1931 American heads the list of favorable concepts. Then come Dutch, Greek, French, Norwegian, Spanish, Italian, English, Jewish, and German, ranging from 93 to 46 per cent favorable concepts. At the bottom of the list are Hindu, Filipino, Turkish, Portuguese, Syrian, Roumanian, Serbian, Arabian, Chinese, Armenian, French Canadian, and Mulatto, ranging from 14 to 1 per cent.

TABLE 2

RANK AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN'S CONCEPTS, ACCORDING TO "MOST COMMON," "FAVORABLE," "NEUTRAL," "UNFAVORABLE," AND "DO NOT KNOW," FOR EACH OF 38 RACES AND NATIONALITIES IN 1931 AND 39 RACES AND NATIONALITIES IN 1944

	Rank	Most Common	Per Cent							
			Favorable		Neutral		Unfavorable		Do Not Know	
	1931	1944	1931	1944	1931	1944	1931	1944	1931	1944
American	1	1	5F*	8F	93	100	7	0	0	0
Dutch	2	4	21F	16F	92	70	8	27	0	0
Greek	3	20	19F	13N†	81	24	14	59	0	6
French	4	10	15F	17F	77	52	16	34	7	6
Norwegian	5	21	17F	22D†	69	24	25	50	1	4
Spanish	6	15	17F	10F	64	44	19	43	15	8
Italian	7	24	23F	19N	64	19	20	49	12	32
English	8	8	8F	19N	63	52	32	47	5	1
Jewish	9	6	16N	17F	52	65	48	34	0	1
German	10	33	13F	12U§	46	9	23	12	31	79
Scottish	11	11	25U	21F	46	51	17	30	30	6
Canadian	12	7	17N	24N	44	56	36	40	7	0
Swedish	13	19	11F	17N	43	25	44	55	3	3
American Indian	14	14	34F	15F	43	45	28	21	19	23
Polish	15	27	16D	31N	32	15	42	68	10	6
Irish	16	13	18N	12F	31	46	66	40	3	8
Finnish	17	23	30D	25D	25	21	39	47	6	7
Mexican	18	9	17U	21F	24	52	32	39	44	9
Japanese	19	38	11U	19U	23	5	46	16	30	79
Hungarian	20	25	24D	25D	23	17	41	55	12	3

Russian	21	12	11U	16F	22	50	47	43	27	0	4	2
Bulgarian	22	36	49D	47D	22	5	16	44	14	4	49	47
Danish	23	18	46D	42D	18	31	34	26	2	1	46	42
Czechoslovakian	24	22	41D	36D	17	22	34	41	8	2	41	35
Negro	25	28	13U	62U	16	15	40	14	42	71	2	0
Bohemian	26		77D		15		3		5		77	28
Hindu	27	32	8U	28U	14	10	43	31	35	31	8	
Filipino	28	26	24N	20N	14	16	50	66	26	13	11	5
Turkish	29	35	15U	46N	14	6	31	85	46	7	9	2
Portuguese	30	34	22D	31D	12	8	62	59	4	2	22	31
Syrian	31		66D		11		13		10		66	
Roumanian	32	31	39D	25D	10	10	47	57	5	8	39	25
Serbian	33		74D		7		7		13		74	
Arabian	34	30	31U	22U	6	10	31	36	54	47	10	8
Chinese	35	17	28U	13F	5	37	38	33	57	30	0	0
Armenian	36		89D		4		3		4		89	
French Canadian	37	29	51D	55D	2	12	47	32	0	1	51	55
Mulatto	38	37	88D	93D	1	0	5	2	6	5	88	93
South American		16	12N			42		48		5		5
Hawaiian		5	18F			70		22		5		3
Australian		3	18F			72		23		1		4
Swiss		2	39F			81		14		1		4
Albanian		39	99D			1		0		0		99
Average			30	28	33	33	30	37	16	13	21	17

* Favorable † Neutral ‡ Do not know § Unfavorable

TABLE 3—Continued

<i>Race or Nationality</i>	<i>1931</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>1944</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Czechoslovakian	Do not know them	41	Do not know them	36
	Did not exist before the war	15	Invaded, ruined	9
Roumanian	Do not know them	39	Do not know them	25
	Ruled by King Carol II	14	Oil fields	9
American Indian	Lived in America before white man	34	Red skin	15
	Given reservations by United States	10	Original Americans	11
Arabian	Lived in desert	31	Live in desert	22
	Trouble with Jews over Palestine	13	Ride camels	9
Finnish	Do not know them	30	Do not know them	25
	Used to cold	25	People from Finland	23
Chinese	Mongolian race	28	Nice, kind, friendly, good	13
	Eat rice	8	Yellow-skin race	12
Scottish	Are "tight"	25	Wear plaid kilts or skirts	21
	Are thrifty	23	Play bagpipes	17
Filipino	Under United States Government	24	Person from Philippines	20
	Do not know them	11	Dark skin race	11
Hungarian	Do not know them	24	Do not know them	25
	Were united with Austria	12	Hungry	24

Italian	Love spaghetti	23	Italy	19
	Love music	4	Love spaghetti	15
Portuguese	Do not know them	22	Do not know them	31
	Are like Spanish	19	Person from Portugal	15
Dutch	Very clean	21	Wear wooden shoes	16
	Wear wooden shoes	18	Windmills	11
Greeks	Were best sculptors	19	Greece	13
	Believed in gods and goddesses	14	Person from Greece	11
Irish	Wear green	18	I like Irish accent	12
	St. Patrick is their saint	14	Wear green	11
Mexican	Have dark skin	17	Wear sombrero hats	21
	Wear sombrero hats	8	Wear bright colors	15
Canadian	Ruled by England	17	Canada	24
	Our northern neighbors	17	Our northern neighbors	8
Norwegian	Good fishermen	17	Do not know them	22
	Were vikings	14	Norway	9
Spanish	Good dancers	17	Are gay	10
	Like bull-fighting	8	Person from Spain	9

TABLE 3—Continued

<i>Race or Nationality</i>	<i>1931</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>1944</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Jewish	Once lived in Palestine	16	Religious	17
	First to believe in one God	11	Good, nice, kind	13
Polish	Do not know them	16	Poland	31
	Have good musicians	13	Do not know them	11
Turkish	Have dark skin	15	Man from Turkey	46
	Wears turban	11	Wears turban	4
French	Allies of Americans	15	Invasion D Day	17
	Interesting language	8	Person from France	13
German	Work hard	13	Hitler	12
	Started world war	11	Nazis	9
Negro	Were slaves	13	Black,brown,colored race	62
	Came from Africa	12	Some are nice	9
Swedish	Good fishermen	11	Person from Sweden	17
	Noble race of sailors		Do not know them	17
Japanese	Have slanting eyes	11	Are yellow	19
	Have yellow skin	9	Our enemy	12
Russian	Under strict, unjust soviet govern- ment	11	Good fighters	9
	Had czar	11	Our allies	8

Hindu	Have a dark skin	8	Do not know them	28
	Want independence	8	Are Indians	12
English	Speak as we do	8	Person from England	19
	Our mother country	6	Speak English language	6
American	Are well educated	7	I am an American	8
	We are Americans	5	Free country	7
South American			Brazil	12
			Music, songs, dancing	9
Hawaiian			Ladies wear grass skirts	18
			Pretty hula-dancing girls	15
Australian			Have many kangaroos	18
			Person from Australia	12
Swiss			Swiss cheese	39
			Alps Mountains	10
Albanian			Do not know them	99
			Bright clothes	1

A high per cent of most common concepts and similar responses given by the same age children in 1931 and 1944 in many instances suggest that the children's concepts are stereotypes representing the group's culture patterns. For many peoples their most common concept is "do not know." The extent to which the cultural patterns of the group are accepted by the young may be indicated by a consideration of all the concepts the children expressed about each race and nationality (5).

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Rose Zeligs is on the staff of the Avondale Public School, Cincinnati, Ohio

BOOK REVIEWS

The British People (1746-1946), by G. D. H. COLE AND RAYMOND POSTGATE New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947, x + 600 pages

The first edition of this epic study which appeared in 1938 established itself as an important contribution to modern social history. The new edition, corrected throughout and brought up to date with a chapter on the British people during the Second World War, now covers the history and progress of the common people of Great Britain during the past two hundred years. The authors have selected the year 1746 as the year with which to begin their study. In 1746 the English forces routed the Highland clansmen at Culloden and this engagement marked the final defeat of the Jacobites. The defeat meant a great deal more than the mere fact that the Stuart Pretenders had to go "over the waters." It spelled the defeat of the last vestiges of feudalism and the firm entrenchment of nationalism. Moreover, it paved the way for the development of finance capitalism which was so soon to make possible the evolution of modern industry. After a complete survey of the various sections of Great Britain and an evaluation of its industry and its potentialities, the authors trace in great detail the economic and social changes that have altered the culture of the land since the early days of the Industrial Revolution. The volume is intensely interesting and should challenge present-day readers who will find that the British for over two hundred years have been facing some of the problems that still perplex a modern world wedded, at least in Anglo-Saxon countries, to the system of finance-capitalism.

WILLIAM P. SEARS

Modern Attitudes in Psychiatry, by IAGO GALDSTON, JAMES H. WALL, G. CANBY ROBINSON, FRANZ ALEXANDER, WILLIAM C. MENNINGER AND EDWARD WEISS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1946, 154 pages

A New York Academy of Medicine symposium of lectures is here undertaken to outline the evolution of psychiatric concepts from

antiquity to contemporary time. Continuity of material would have been better achieved by a revised sequence, but it is not dull reading.

Galdston, with superior scholarship and humor, condenses beliefs of twenty-five hundred years and warns of misconceptions due to our ignorance of ancient idiom.

Wall, surveying the past fifty years, illustrates such terms as transference with clarity.

The heart of Alexander's discussion is the rise of motivational theory and the effect of recent research in differential cultural patterns of authority, hostility, insecurity, upon psychoanalytic ideas.

Robinson and Weiss handle social-emotional factors in disease and the patient's anxiety toward physical symptoms.

All the contributors emphasize need of blending psychiatric study with medical and surgical training. Large-scale preventive psychiatry is pointed to as a problem in public education of the future.

MIRIAM C. GOULD

Freedom of the Movies, by RUTH A. INGLIS. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1947, 241 pages.

Hollywood's excesses early brought it into conflict with components of its public. This book is a summary review of this developing conflict and traces the course of censorship, the fortunes of the National Board of Review, and the development within the industry of so-called self-regulation as provided for in the Hays office. There is detailed description of the industry's "production code." This survey is preceded by an overcursor review of the industry's history and economics and is followed by conclusions and recommendations. These provide for constitutional guarantees of freedom of the press to include motion pictures, increasing stress by the industry itself on its role as a civic and informational agency, greater public attention to the film as a social and cultural force, and, finally, public sponsorship of a national advisory board "to review and propose changes, from time to time, in the motion picture production and advertising codes." The book avoids the larger question of Hollywood in the realm of international affairs. One of the studies prepared by the Commission on the Freedom of the Press, sponsored by Henry Luce and the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

C. A. SIEPMANN

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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THE STATUS OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY TODAY

George Squires Herrington

The principal question raised for inquiry in the study¹ upon which this article is based concerns the extent to which educational sociology has become a significant factor in the training of teachers. In 1926 Harvey Lee made a nationwide survey of the field in his study entitled, *The Status of Educational Sociology in Normal Schools, Teachers Colleges, Colleges, and Universities*.² His investigation provides a basis of comparison with the present survey of the field.

To what extent is educational sociology being utilized today in the training of educational workers, in order that they may be equipped with the ability to develop personalities that possess understandings, attitudes and skills necessary to a fuller realization of democratic values? As late as 1937 Snedden designated the relatively new field of educational sociology as "immature and unstandardized." What maturity and agreement are in evidence at the present time? An attempt is made in this article to answer

¹ George S. Herrington, *Educational Sociology as a Factor in the Training of Teachers*, Unpublished Doctor of Education dissertation, School of Education, Stanford University, 1947.

² Harvey Lee, *The Status of Educational Sociology in Normal Schools, Teachers Colleges, Colleges, and Universities* (New York: New York University Book Store, 1928).

these questions in the light of the data received from 239 institutions that returned questionnaires in the study cited. These questionnaires were sent to 449 normal schools, colleges, teachers colleges, and universities in the United States with teacher-training programs. The returns constitute 53 per cent of those sent, representing a 20 to 25 per cent sampling of all teacher-training institutions in the nation.

Required, partially required, and elective courses in educational sociology. Sixty-seven institutions, 28 per cent of the 239 returning questionnaires, offer a total of 143 required, partially required (optional within a general education or social-science requirement), and elective courses in educational sociology. The highest percentages of courses in the subject are reported for the far west, universities, public institutions, coeducational institutions, and institutions with student populations of 5,000 and over. Courses giving 3 semester units or 3 quarter units have the highest frequencies.

Required courses in educational sociology. Only 16 institutions, 6 per cent of those returning questionnaires, require courses in educational sociology. The highest frequencies found in connection with required courses in the subject are indicated by the far west and middle states, universities, coeducational institutions, public institutions, and institutions with student populations over 5,000.

Required general courses in education, including educational sociology in part. Ninety-four institutions indicate general courses in education which include educational sociology in part. Fifty-seven institutions offering these courses do not have courses in educational sociology. This number added to those that do give courses in the field makes a total of 124 institutions, or 51 per cent of the institutions replying in the study, which offer educational sociology in some degree to prospective educational workers. The highest percentages of general education courses containing edu-

cational sociology, in part, are reported in the northwest, normal schools, teacher colleges, institutions for men, public institutions, and institutions with student populations between 500 and 999. The largest number of these courses are indicated as containing 25 per cent educational sociology.

Major and/or minor study in educational sociology. Only five institutions reporting appear to have enough courses in educational sociology to warrant major and/or minor study in the subject for the degrees indicated. These five are Michigan State College, University of Chicago, Ohio State University, New York University, and Stanford University.

Trends noted in educational sociology The most significant trend in educational sociology noted is the decline of 6 to 10 per cent in the percentage of institutions offering educational sociology since 1926. In reply to the question, "Does your institution offer a course in educational sociology?" Lee found that 194, or 38 per cent of the 505 institutions returning questionnaires in his study in 1926, offered such courses. He also found that only 15 per cent of the institutions returning questionnaires required courses in the field. In the present study only 67, or 28 per cent of the 239 institutions returning questionnaires, offer courses in educational sociology; and only 16, or 6 per cent, require a course in the subject.

A question arises, however, as to the comparability of these percentages. In the present study, 51 per cent of the institutions offer educational sociology in some degree to prospective educational workers if the number of institutions giving general education courses including educational sociology in part and not offering educational sociology courses as such is added to the 67 institutions that give courses in educational sociology. There is no evidence in Lee's study that replies were received which involved courses in education, except in answer to the question, "What topics of a sociological nature does your institution treat in

courses other than educational sociology?" The addition of this question in Lee's study undoubtedly tended to indicate to institutions that replies to the question, "Does your institution offer a course in educational sociology?" should not include courses which deal with the subject only in part. The assumption appears warranted, therefore, that the percentages, 38 and 28, are comparable; that they concern the percentages, respectively, of institutions in 1926 and at present offering courses in educational sociology as such.

A further question arises, however, concerning the comparability of these percentages. In the present study eleven institutions reporting 36 courses were not included in the tabulation because they did not appear to be courses in educational sociology. There is little question that these courses are not courses in the field; yet, what effect would the inclusion of the institutions have upon the 10 per cent decline noted? If 10 of these institutions are added to the 67 institutions giving courses in educational sociology, in as much as the eleventh institution is included in the latter figure, the percentage of institutions giving courses in the subject is 32. A decline of 6 per cent since 1926 rather than 10 per cent is then indicated. There is no evidence that Lee rejected any of the answers to the question, "Does your institution offer a course in educational sociology?"; or, that he received the replies in such form as to make such discrimination possible. It is probable, nevertheless, that some institutions may have reported having courses in educational sociology that were only educational sociology in part. In any event, it is not likely that the proportion of such courses was any greater than the proportion of courses rejected as educational sociology in this study.

In the light of these probabilities, it may be said, therefore, that the percentage of institutions offering courses in educational sociology today as compared with the percentage giving such courses in 1926 has declined between 6 and 10 per cent. Viewed against

the fairly rapid expansion of courses in educational sociology from 1910 to 1926, the decline since the latter date is especially significant.

Since only two institutions of those not tabulated reported required courses, the percentage of institutions requiring courses in educational sociology today is approximately 6 or 7 per cent as compared to 15 per cent in 1926.

Although Lee did not include in his study any data concerning general education courses containing educational sociology in part, a trend since 1926 is suggested by the data in the present study. There may be a movement toward the integration of such courses as educational sociology, educational psychology, and the history and philosophy of education that would account for the decline in the percentage of institutions offering courses in educational sociology.

There is relatively little change to be noted today as compared to 1926 in the number of units given for courses in educational sociology.

Almost two thirds of the 36 institutions reporting on subject-matter prerequisites for required and partially required courses in educational sociology have no subject-matter prerequisites. In 1926 all of the courses were indicated by Lee as having some subject-matter prerequisites.

Present-day aims tend to be more specific in statement than those reported in 1926. Those concerned with understanding school-community relationships and the teacher's role in the community receive greater emphasis and more specific statement today. A greater emphasis is also to be noted upon an understanding of the role of the school as an instrument of social progress and of the meaning of democracy and its application to education.

Almost half of the topics taught in educational sociology courses today include reference to education, as compared to the 75 per cent in 1926 that could not be distinguished from sociology.

topics. Although the wording of a topic does not determine the manner in which it is handled, it is probably good policy to word educational sociology topics in such a way that the application of social knowledge to education is suggested. A much greater emphasis is placed upon school-community relationships. Other topics receiving greater emphasis than comparable topics in 1926 are pressure groups, public opinion, propaganda, and education; intercultural education; leisure, recreation, and education; health and education; crime, delinquency, and education; and occupational trends and their educational implications.

Of the 24 topics that instructors feel should be especially stressed in the next ten years, the 11 with the highest frequencies are in order: the community and the school; democracy and education; intercultural education; pressure groups, public opinion, propaganda, and education; international education; education and the family; crime, delinquency, and education; leisure, recreation, and education; social and economic stratification and education; the social functions of the school; and population trends and their educational implications.

The five leading topics that instructors in courses in educational sociology feel should become the subjects of new course offerings in the next ten years are in terms of both order of choice and frequency: international education; intercultural education; education and the family; the community and the school; and pressure groups, public opinion, propaganda, and education.

The incidence of community research projects or surveys is considerably higher today than it was in 1926.

Lee's conclusion in 1926 that teachers of educational sociology indicated a greater amount of experience in education than in sociology is applicable today. Seventy per cent of instructors have majors in some field of education other than educational sociology. Only 51 per cent have a major or minor study for their highest degrees in sociology or educational sociology.

Since 1926 the percentage of instructors holding doctors' degrees as their highest degrees has doubled from 38 to 76 per cent.

There appears to be a greater unanimity of opinion among instructors of educational sociology today than there was in 1926 regarding the nature of educational sociology. Instructors, as revealed in this study, do not confuse definitions of the subject with aims or with other subjects of study as was indicated in Lee's investigation. Although the application of social knowledge to education receives major emphasis in both studies, the relationships between education and society receives greater emphasis at the present time. The application of social knowledge to education in order to improve society not only receives greater emphasis but more specific statement than the "social control" definitions in Lee's study imply.

Implications and recommendations. Although there has been a nationwide decline since 1926 in the percentage of institutions offering courses in educational sociology, the subject appears to have developed a greater measure maturity and evidence of agreement regarding the nature and functions in the field than was manifest in 1926.

The aims of courses in educational sociology have a greater degree of specificity. There is greater emphasis and agreement upon an understanding of the role of the school as an instrument of social progress, upon an understanding of the meaning of democracy and its application to education, and an understanding of, and participation in, school-community relationships. All three of these aims are interrelated and reflect the growing realization that an interdependent, dynamic society such as ours requires the extension of the range and quality of social interaction to the ends that social competence and democratic values may be increasingly achieved. Aims, however, stressing attitudes and competences as distinguished from those relating to understanding and knowledge appear to be slighted. This suggests that aims of courses in

educational sociology are too narrowly conceived and do not include all of the three categories in which aims may be classified; namely, understandings and knowledge, attitudes and appreciations, and skills and abilities

The fact that almost half of the topics in present-day courses in educational sociology indicate some relationship to education as contrasted with the 75 per cent that could not be distinguished from sociology topics in 1926 is another bit of evidence suggesting a more refined view of the field. The greater major emphasis upon school-community relationships also reflects the growing realization that the school can and should be a center of community life, activity, and an institution which can be of service in co-operation with other agencies in contributing to community improvement. The increase in the number and proportion of community research projects or surveys is an indication of the trend to establish functional relationships in school-community interaction.

The fact that only 51 per cent of all instructors in educational sociology have a major or minor study in sociology or educational sociology is not conducive to the highest development of the field. However, adequately trained instructors in educational sociology cannot be secured if they are not demanded, and the potentialities of educational sociology as a significant factor in the training of teachers cannot be realized until such instructors are procured. It should be recognized, nevertheless, that some instructors through their work in related fields and interest in and study of sociology and educational sociology are making a real contribution to the teaching of, and research in, educational sociology in spite of the fact that their academic training has not been in sociology or educational sociology.

Have instructors been "saddled" with their courses in educational sociology? The fact that only half of them have either a major or minor study in either sociology or educational sociology

is an indication that this has been the case in many instances. Have institutional lag and myopic vision, with respect to the potentialities of educational sociology, been major factors in producing the present condition of educational sociology? Or, are there other factors involved?

A consideration of these questions leads to several suggestions for further research. There is a need for a study of the factors contributing to the decline in the percentage of institutions offering courses in educational sociology in 1946-1947 as compared to 1926. The importance of such a study is heightened by the fact that the period from 1910 to 1926 was one of considerable expansion and development in the field. Why have some institutions abandoned courses in educational sociology? What has prevented others from introducing such courses? What do these institutions substitute for courses in educational sociology? Is there a trend toward an integration of educational sociology, educational psychology, and other education subjects in general courses in education? In this connection, it is to be remembered that 51 per cent of all institutions offer some educational sociology if institutions with general education courses including educational sociology in part are added to those institutions that give courses in the subject.

Another suggestion for further research in view of the decline and the fact that sociology is required in some teacher-training programs is an investigation of the extent to which sociology is required and partially required of prospective educational workers in those institutions which offer no educational sociology, and the extent to which the instructors of such courses apply the subject to education and deal with its educational implications. Are instructors of sociology any better prepared in terms of academic training in education than instructors of educational sociology are in sociology? Such a study should help to determine whether or not the decline in educational sociology has been accompanied by

an expansion in sociology as a required or partially required field for educational workers.

To what extent has educational sociology become a significant factor in the training of teachers? This is the major question posed in this study. Educational sociology has not become as significant a factor in the training of educational workers as it should be; especially, if one full course in educational sociology is accepted as a basic minimum in any teacher training program.

Forty-nine per cent of teacher-training institutions do not offer courses in this field, nor do they include the subject as part of a general course in education. Only 28 to 32 per cent of the institutions offer at least one course in educational sociology. Only 6 or 7 per cent of the institutions require it of prospective educational workers. In spite of the fact that 69 per cent of the institutions over 5,000, representing 12 per cent of the institutions reporting, have courses in educational sociology and train proportionately more teachers than institutions in other size groups, the conclusion is justified that the social aspects of learning are not receiving adequate attention in the professional training of teachers as far as educational sociology is concerned. Only a study of the significance of sociology in the training of teachers will indicate to what extent it is meeting the need.

Educational sociologists must provide for the social aspects of learning in the training of educational workers whether they do so as members of the sociology department or as members of the education department. An educational sociologist should be one who is adequately trained in both sociology and education. One without the other is more likely to produce an educationist or a sociologist rather than an educational sociologist.

Educational sociology and educational psychology should constitute twin bases for teacher training. They are basic because they deal respectively with the fundamental social and individual factors involved in personality development. Although they overlap

in the social psychology of education, each has its "fundamental" and "important" contribution to make in the training of teachers. They are distinct and "complementary."

In our highly dynamic, interdependent society, growing out of industrialism with its increasing specialization of function, social competence is greatly needed. The school must help to create such competence if it is to be a significant factor in improving our society. Educational sociologists, adequately trained in both education and sociology, can help to produce educational workers who are capable of such a task.

The primary aim that all educators as well as educational sociologists may set for themselves, if education is to become a significant factor in the maintenance and improvement of our society, is this: To extend the range and quality of social interaction within and without the school at all age levels so there may be a continuously greater realization of democratic values in all areas of living and on all community levels. Such a conception of education requires for its progressive attainment a greater use of the potentialities of educational sociology than is now manifest in the training of educational workers in the normal schools, colleges, teachers colleges, and universities of the United States.

George Squires Herrington is an Assistant Professor of Social Science in the University of Denver.

THE ENGLISH TEACHER AND INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS

Edward L. Anderson

Educators and leading laymen of many countries are currently much concerned with something called "the improvement of intercultural relations." This is by no means a new interest dating from the end of the Second World War, but the aims and programs of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization have made for an increased awareness of the general problem of intercultural relations, and a more active desire to do something to improve them. Let us first seek a clear understanding of what the term "intercultural relations" means, and then ask ourselves what makes for "bad" or unsatisfactory intercultural relations. Then, perhaps, we can suggest a program for the English teacher to follow, or at least a set of guiding principles, in his attempt to improve such relations.

The term "intercultural relations" would appear to embrace at least three kinds of social relationships. First, there are the relationships between groups of different racial or national backgrounds, whites and Negroes, Chinese and Jews, Italians and Germans. The term "national" is to be preferred here to "racial," as modern science has demonstrated quite successfully the gross fallacies of our older nations concerning "race" and "blood." With the possible exception of some primitive culture groups in certain parts of the world, there do not exist anywhere among so-called civilized peoples any group which are "racially pure," so extensive have been the processes of immigration and interbreeding. Second, there are the relationships between groups adhering to different religious beliefs. These differences frequently occur between groups who function together in larger national or political groups. Third, there are the relationships between different socio-economic groups, that is, between groups which in our

society form quite distinct social communities on the basis of differences in their incomes, occupations, and educations.

What makes for tension in any such intercultural relations? Let us examine an actual instance of such tension. In the summer of 1943 there was what the press called a "race riot" involving Negroes and whites in Detroit, Michigan. After several days of street fights, thirty-odd persons, chiefly Negroes, had been killed, several hundred injured, and windows had been smashed in hundreds of stores and houses in both white and Negro neighborhoods. Order was restored only after a detachment of the United States Army had been sent into the city to aid the local police.

I believe that there is probably a complex of causes, rather than a single cause, for every particular case of tension between groups. There are, however, some factors which appear to play their parts in many of these cases, whether they result in violent eruption of the kind just noted or not. First, it seems that a good many inter-group tensions have their seed beds in an old and widespread tendency of human behavior, namely, the need of the individual to feel himself a "belonging" member of a "we-group," and his willingness to accept uncritically the opinions and attitudes of his group toward "they-groups" or "out-groups" in order to maintain his own status. Second, this need and this willingness make for a perpetuation of ignorance and erroneous "knowledge" about what the members of out-groups are like, and for the continued acceptance of stereotypes. Third, socio-economic competition between groups may make for the acceptance of unfavorable stereotypes and a shutting of the mind to new or corrected facts about the out-group.

I believe that the third factor mentioned, socio-economic competition (for example, that existing between poor whites and Negroes in certain places in the United States), is one about which the teacher can, as an individual, do very little. I do not think the teacher, English teacher or otherwise, can do very much to alter

the first factor—the tendency on the part of the individual, to accept the opinions and attitudes of his own we-group. What, then, *can* the teacher do? It would appear that the teacher must concentrate his efforts on the second of the three factors, namely, on the elimination of the ignorance and erroneous “knowledge” about what the members of out-groups are like and on the correction of the previously accepted stereotypes. If this is so, how can the English teacher, in particular, move toward such elimination and correction? It is with this question that we will be concerned.

English teachers can build a reading program based on the literatures drawn from or dealing with the different backgrounds of the students who make up their school population. I will not attempt here to offer suggested reading lists but, instead, will state what I consider to be an important criterion for the selection of such literature. Let us suppose a school situation in which white and Negro students are associated and in which some of the white students fear, distrust, or otherwise dislike the Negroes. What kind of reading can the white students be encouraged to do to help eradicate this dislike, particularly when it is based on ignorance or on faulty stereotypes concerning Negroes? Certainly literature which fortifies existing stereotypes of the Negro as childlike, eternally adolescent, lazy, unreliable, or, worse yet, as criminally inclined, is to be avoided. The reading of books and short stories about Negroes of the Octavius Roy Cohen type, in which they are represented as being fond of gaudy pretentiousness, addicted to scheming dishonesty, and afflicted (as in the case of Florian Slap-*pey*) with a congenital aversion to honest labor, is not calculated to eliminate these stereotypes. Marc Connelly's *The Green Pastures*, although it is a quite charming fantasy, intensifies the conception of Negroes as intellectually and emotionally childlike (One may well ask whether the role of “de Lawd” in this play as a prosperous, fatherly Negro who smokes ten-cent “cigars” is any more anthropomorphic than some widely held notions about

the nature of the Deity still current among some otherwise sophisticated white people.) Again, stories of the Joel Chandler Harris *Uncle Remus* variety picture the Negro as fairly reveling in a subservient status. Although scarce by comparison with what we may call "stereotype literature" about the Negroes, it is still possible to find literature which presents them as quite normal human beings, faced with the same basic problems of existence as other human beings, and behaving in general as other human beings do, or would do, in similar situations. Richard Wright's *Black Boy* records the struggles of a sensitive, intelligent Negro boy to achieve and to maintain the status of a free, self-respecting man in a society, both Negro and white, which seemed bent on "keeping him in his place." *Mrs. Palmer's Honey* by Fannie Cook tells a similar story about a Negro girl. And, of course, Wright's *Native Son* is excellent as the story of a young Negro trapped by the criminal stereotype of the Negro held by a large part of the society about him.

Let English teachers, then, stimulate their students to reading and discussion of literature about minority or special culture groups, which avoids centering its emphasis on faulty stereotypes, faulty in the sense that traits possessed perhaps by some, are attributed to the majority, and which does present the members of such groups as human beings with the same tendencies, hopes, fears, and problems that characterize the rest of the human race, or at least a sizable portion of it. The word "discussion" in the preceding sentence is important. I believe that merely preparing lists of such "culturally realistic" literature (as opposed to "stereotype" literature), making such reading available, and perhaps encouraging the actual reading of it by requiring written or oral book reports, is not enough. A good English teacher, aware of the desirability of correcting the erroneous conceptions about certain groups of people held by some of his students, can conduct classroom discussion of this better kind of literature in which its

greater honesty and insight can be profitably contrasted with the easy typing of people so characteristic of the other sort. The teacher needs tact and good common sense to conduct such discussion without hurting some students' feelings or subjecting them to embarrassment. He can stimulate the students to identify the stereotypes they hold, to ask themselves the reasons for, and the sources of, these stereotypes, and finally to correct them in the light of what they have read and heard discussed in class.

There is another phase of the work in the English class which the English teacher can utilize for the furtherance of better intercultural relations. This is the general area of the group project and individual report work. Teachers who want ideas on how effectively this phase of English teaching can be handled would do well to read *English for Social Living* by Gordon, Kaulfers, and Kefauver (Stanford University Press) in which a number of teachers on the junior-high, senior-high, and junior-college levels present accounts of class activity programs. Here again, I am not undertaking to offer suggestions for specific programs or activities, but rather to indicate a general principle to follow in the conduct of such activities.

The English teacher should avoid assigning a task to a student from a minority group which that student is incapable of performing with reasonable competence, or in the performance of which the student will be made to appear ineffective, unsuccessful, or "funny" to his classmates. If a girl from a "foreign" background reads aloud poorly and with a marked accent, she should not be required to read papers or make oral reports before the class, until or unless the teacher can bring her reading and speech habits up to an acceptable level for that particular group. The same girl may have artistic talent which, if called upon instead, may emphasize her as highly competent in the eyes of her fellow students. A shy, awkward boy from another minority group may make himself, *and others of his group*, "inferior" in the opinion

of his fellows if called upon for individual performance. The same boy may be very apt, however, at gathering data from reading or observation and in writing them up in a good piece of written English. Let this boy do *that*, and the teacher or another student present the report to the class.

I do not cherish the hope that the problem of intercultural relationships is going to be solved, and the millennium attained overnight, if every English teacher seeks for "culturally realistic" literature for reading and class discussion and pays due consideration to his students' aptitudes and personality problems, however, I do believe that these are intelligent procedures which, carried out by a host of individual teachers, can have some cumulative effect on the improvement of intergroup relations in the English classes of our schools.

Edward L. Anderson is an Instructor in English in the School of Education, New York University

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933

Of The Journal of Educational Sociology published monthly, September-May, at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1946
 State of New York }
 County of New York } ss

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Jean B. Barr, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Business Manager of The Journal of Educational Sociology and that the following is to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

- 1 That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are:
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Sworn to and subscribed before me this 3d day of September, 1947

JEAN B. BARR, Business Manager

W. KENNETH ACKERMAN
 Notary Public, Westchester County
 Cert. filed in N. Y. Co. Clk. No. 412, Reg. No. 120-A-8
 Commission Expires March 30, 1948

TAKE THEM OUT OF THEIR PROTECTIONS

James H. Hanscom

Ashamed of his animal kinship, seeking proofs of his denial of it, man has arrogated to himself the qualities of wisdom, of forethought, and of pity. The first of these can be dismissed as naïveté or humor, if one is tolerant, or as ignorant pomposity, if one is realistic. The second claim to unique status can be deflated by any squirrel chattering in its cache of acorns laid aside for winter. Allowing the third claim to pre-eminence, we are faced with a truth which takes on the character of a singularly by perverse and grim jest by nature at man's expense. This attribute, by which finite beings try to emulate the Infinite, and human beings seek to ape their concept of the Divine, which distinguishes the philanthrope from the anthropoid, and anima from animal, may prove the ultimate undoing of those who exercise it.

It moves under many names and in many guises. It is the "Mercy above the sceptered sway" with which Portia sought to persuade Shylock to void his contractual claims. It is the Petrine dream of assuaging the hunger of the Gentiles, and the Pauline "Charity" clanging louder in the carillon, than Faith or Hope. It is the gentle sentiment which, flowering in the Christmas seal, breathes a saving breath into tortured lungs, and in another season marches with dimes to the surcease of the halt and lame. It is born of that most vital biological instinct, which demands that the species survive though the individual perish. To criticise its workings is to arouse angry prejudice and violent emotional opposition, but the fact remains that when improperly expressed as "over-protectiveness" it frustrates the very purposes for which it is used.

To ask whether the virtue of this many-named protectiveness lies within the act or in the consequences of action may seem to be raising a purely academic question, better suited to the idle discussion of retired philosophers than of "practical" people. Cer-

tainly society at large has not waited upon the query, but has leaped to its own emotional conclusion that the virtue lies in the act itself, that kindness is in the doing and not in what results from the doing. It is just this doubtful decision which causes a noble aspiration to become a peril, especially to those in whose behalf it is exercised. Used by statesmen, nations are the sufferers; applied by parents and teachers, the next generation is penalized.

Resultant from the application of this philosophical conclusion are prolongation of life for the incurably ill and the hopelessly insane, and maintenance of economically underprivileged people within the borders of starvation. When the thawing Appalachians pour their annual torrents over the levees of the Ohio and the Mississippi, the homeless are succored in their flight from the drowned bottomlands, in order that they may resume their homes in time for next year's deluge. When the desert leaps on the wings of the wind, to descend upon a widening dust bowl, the exiled are aided, to survive for the misery of the fruit circuits and the despair of flight in jaloppies along the migrant agricultural workers' route, one feeble gasp ahead of hunger, the sheriff, and a ditch-side grave. Society is righteous in its original mercy to the endless continuation of agony and want.

Man's tendency to respond quickly to an appeal for sympathy may well be a major cause of his survival as a species; by combining his frailties he may have woven the slim strength by which his breed clung to existence through the long eons of geologic time. Wishing to simplify the complexities of living, it is easier to avoid the whole philosophic problem as to whether a good is eternally so, whether an act virtuous in one time and place is equally so in all times and places. If to stretch the protecting hand caused Neanderthal man to survive, then how equally true must it be for modern man. This is to oversimplify a problem, to evade thought. But it is often easier to so oversimplify, it is less trouble to lift conclusions from the area of human physical survival and

apply them to distant problems such as those of child education.

In pitiful zeal (pitiful in more than one sense) we have extended the idea of protection beyond shielding children from physical harm to sheltering them from mental exercise as well. Misguided by emotional impulse, many of us hold that the Democratic Road to Learning must be smoother than the famed Royal Road, which an elder and sterner generation held nonexistent. From kindergarten through college, learning must present no real challenge, no honest difficulty, else the learner resent the need for effort, rebel at hard work, and prompt the parent-voter to demand in wrath at the next town meeting, "Why can't our schools be 'progressive'?"

An age which believes that it can get the vital quality of food from a diet which is premasticated and predigested, and amplified by a vitamin pill, is too often rearing students (so-called) who expect to swallow capsules of education, and acquire wisdom and knowledge from the regurgitations of some "expert." The molars and digestion of modern man demonstrate the inexorable toll which nature takes from those who avoid meeting the former type of challenge; the intellectual ineptitude and subsequent civic and political decay, which must accompany the latter, are equally evident to those who dare or wish to see

Whether progressive or retrogressive, creation is on the move. Searching for the static through stellar space beyond time, or seeking it within temporal mundane matter, nowhere do we find stability and peace to please the hierophants of the status quo. That which ceases to fight its own way upstream is whirled on the river's way downstream. Even such an epitome of changelessness as the village cemetery is busy with crumbling, be it stone above or bone below. And in a universe where standing pat is impossible, the minds of children must either move forward or fall backward into an infancy intolerable in the light of wasted potentialities. If then the choice is not whether to move or to remain, but

whether to progress or to retrogress, the manner in which progress becomes possible has significance for us and for those whose mental future we hold in trust

Progress is achieved by overcoming a challenge which demands more than can be given without effort or struggle. To build better biceps, weights and strains must be attempted which will weary the muscles in their existing condition. To build immunity to smallpox, the body must be challenged by inoculation with enough of the disease to be alien to its nature and incompatible with its inner ease and comfort. Turning from the body to the mind we recall George Catlin in his *Story of the Political Philosophers*, "the use of intelligence is not natural to man but very unnatural, due to pain and some breakdown in a happy, indolent social equilibrium. Mind itself is a painful, disease-like product of the struggle for survival."

The relationship between human crisis and achievement is causal rather than casual. Biology and anthropology textbooks have long listed side by side the climatic changes in the earth's past and the possible evolution of man, the parallelism showing probable dates of human development. What is not clearly indicated is that one is the cause of the other. The change from *Dryopithecus*, the ape, to *Pithecanthropus*, the ape-man, occurred when glaciation altered the world which the forest ape had known. Those of his kind who stuck to the status quo presumably froze to death, at least they ceased to exist. Those who attempted the limited and relatively easy adjustment of changing their geographic location developed as a result of their effort into the progenitors of the great apes of today, the gibbon, the orangutan, the gorilla, and the chimpanzee. But those among the forest apes who met the threat of extinction without running away, but by utilizing all the determination and ingenuity which they possessed, emerged from the struggle not only successful in surviving, but with all their capabilities supplemented and increased. A

larger brain and the power of speech were among the rewards for meeting a challenge successfully. With each succeeding glacial period through the Pleistocene, we find those, who met each consecutive testing, emerging higher in the scale of humanness, Eoanthropus gives place to Neanderthal man who is followed by Cro-Magnon man and at last by modern men.

It is to be noted that this progress has involved, first, a challenge serious enough to overcome lethargy, to threaten great discomfort if not extinction, second, a willingness to meet the challenge without running away, and, third, possession and use of enough ingenuity to devise ways and means out of the dilemma. The first requisite we have always with us, challenges which are physical, social, mental, moral, political, economic, or whatever, rising out of our solutions to past problems. The third we are helpless to change, unless the day arrives when science knows how to alter innate ability in human beings. The second is the area in which we can hope to train children effectively, if we wish. One can be taught by meeting challenges to face others as they arise.

What we have illustrated in the realm of anthropology can be redemonstrated by countless examples in the history of nations. An excellent example is that discussed by the author of *A Study of History*. Arnold Toynbee points out that the Egyptian and Mesopotamian cultures became dynamic and started on their way to civilization through the threat of extinction, which the dessication of North Africa and Asia Minor posed to the natives of the Mediterranean borderlands. In meeting the challenge of drought, and in plunging into swamp areas for water, social, political, and economic systems had to be devised which resulted not only in survival but in the formidable progress which made Egypt and Babylonia milestones of human progress. Nature's response to the effort displayed by man was to give him strength and ability to survive, plus additional power beyond the needs of the moment. This *plus* constituted progress.

To choose a later example, one bearing directly upon the history of America, when the tiny Christian kingdoms of Leon, Aragon, and Castille finally girded themselves, after centuries of sloth, to meet the threat of extinction posed by Moorish dominance of the Iberian peninsula, the result was not only the expulsion of the Moslem from Granada, which represented the solution of the initial challenge, but an overflow of energy which carried the Castilian crown and Christian cross around the globe. Spanish culture was sown from California to Patagonia, from the Argentine to the Philippines, and the grandson of Fernando and Ysabel was raised to the hegemony of Europe. This was a *plus* indeed!

American national history is prolific with similar illustrations. Considered at any given time, how unimportant would the men of the frontier, wherever it might be, appear, if weighed in the scale of national significance against the inhabitants of the settled and developed sections of the country, with their political skill and economic achievements. But, in meeting the greater challenge of the frontier, where hunger and disease prevailed, and the savage, the lawless, and nature in all her malevolent ingenuity prowled, the pioneers and sons of pioneers accumulated an energy, courage, and vision plus that has tipped the scales often and again to the renown of the Jeffersons and Jacksons, the Clays and Calhouns, the Lincolns and Bryans, and their kin and kind.

In a later time, when the challenge of the lost frontier has given way to the challenges of an urbanized, industrialized century, note that names still arise to signalize victory. Sickliness threatens Theodore Roosevelt, paralysis strikes at Franklin Roosevelt, deafness closes around Thomas Edison, poverty around Alfred Smith, pigmentation of skin forbids achievement to George Washington Carver. It is glib to say that these and others like them represent examples of overcompensation, and so dismiss the matter. To do so is to ignore the very root of a philosophy of education. Overcompensations are the reward, the *plus* granted by nature to those

who refuse to go down without a struggle before any challenge. Only by challenging effectively can we cause overcompensation, only by causing it can we force the challenged to progress; only by progress so achieved will our children grow out of childhood mentally as well as physically, only by so growing will we lose the adolescent and eternal sophomores who blow tin horns at conventions of the American middle-aged.

All teachers are familiar with the old saw, that the "best way to learn a subject is to teach it." The challenge of the need to clarify material for someone else forces one to clarify it for himself. This is another way of saying that the teacher profits more from teaching than does the student from being taught. This may be desirable for the instructor, but the school was not set up for him. What of the student, what of the child who appeals to those deepest instincts of ours to protect and defend and make secure? How can we be kind and still make learning tough enough to be effective? How can we deliberately create a challenge and then stand back and watch a struggle? By rejecting the whole false notion that kindness lies only in doing; by realizing that it is the results of our doing which must be found desirable. The circumstances that flung Walter Scott into poverty were unkind, unjust perhaps, but the world of letters was richer in the end, and Scott was the wealthier in intellectual skill and achievement as well as in pocket. English social injustice was, to understate, unpleasant, and the reactions of Charles Dickens to it were neither pleasant nor tolerable to him, but the result has been a loftier concept of human dignity and worth, extending into lands where the tongue of Dickens is not understood but his indignation is. Death stood behind John Keats, and heartbreak beside Sara Teasdale, but could we wish it otherwise, if to do so would mean the loss to us of the songs they sang, and to them the singing?

To focus on the ends we seek may mean to sacrifice the plaudits of sycophantic pupils and parents. The respect earned in retrospect will be the greater.

This very problem is in itself a challenge to us, the outcome of which will be the more desirable with the greater difficulty overcome. It is not easy to insist on student achievement when we could do the work for them more quickly and accurately, to watch them blunder into errors in order that they may grow in the blundering, when a word from us could save them both the blunder and the growth. If we wish our children to achieve maturity of mind and body, to attain moral and spiritual stature consistent with our hope that their lives will be richer than our own, we must stop smoothing out the paths, we must cease making our schools into temples of "Lazy-Faire!"

On a global scale the threat of atomic catastrophe challenges the nations to solve international chaos. On a national level the threat of recurring depressions bids the people clean their economic house. In our cities the specter of disease dictates the clearance of the slums. These problems have come upon us without our consent. But in the classroom we are free. Challenges to thinking and doing can be introduced, if we wish. If we choose otherwise, then we underwrite, with the approval of silent acceptance, the current American situation, tacitly recognized when we call a club of forty-year-old females, "The Girls," and a smoker of paunchy heavies, "The Boys."

A century ago Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote, "He who is to be wise for many must not be protected . . . 'Tis a fatal disadvantage to be cockered and to eat too much cake. What tests of manhood could he stand? Take him out of his protections." This thought, expressed as regards the few, is applicable to the many. Let it not be the destiny of our children to come, spineless and vegetable, from scholastic hot-houses. Let it not be ours to release one day, into a ruthless world, a cotton-wool generation.

James H. Hanscom is an Instructor in Education in the School of Education, New York University.

SOME NEWER METHODS OF TEACHING SOCIOLOGY*

David M. Fulcomer

From many corners have come complaints that colleges and universities have failed and are failing to prepare their students for constructive living in our day. That such accusations are made is sad. But worse still is the realization that they are formulated with considerable basis in fact. And it is the belief of many of us that outmoded teaching methods are, to a large extent, responsible.

It is quite evident that we sociologists are no exception to the rule. One does find inadequacy in the most unsuspected corners. Most of us use some form of the lecture-quiz section method. Our students file in to hear us talk and listen mostly for those things which they are afraid we shall expect them to remember in the next examination. Perhaps they meet in a quiz section once a week where a graduate student, who has little time to spare from his own degree work and thus cannot get much interested in his quiz section, has charge. Then, too, we usually require a term paper which most students write (if they cannot buy one) in one or two evenings by the simple procedure of copying passages out of several books. Not many of them can remember even the table of contents one week after the paper is submitted. However, this paper may count as much as one third of the course. If a book review is required, that is not so bad because usually the student can secure one already written or copy one out of a periodical such as *The Book Review Digest*. The final examination is just an unpleasant experience of cramming the night before. In the smaller colleges conditions are sometimes worse, sometimes better. Usually, however, class discussions are a boring rehash of the text and the lectures are of an ancient vintage.

It would seem, then, that in both large and small educational institutions the dominant three-way procedure for the student is:

* This article is based in part upon a paper presented to the American Sociological Society at its annual meeting in Chicago in December 1946

copy, memorize, and cram. True, many college and university classes are not as poor as the picture just painted. But the sad thing is that many *are* that bad and very few can be placed with fairness at the other end of the teaching scale. Here, then, is a very serious situation

The original awareness of the need for better methods of teaching sociology is a difficult thing to discover and trace. Certainly such men as J. Elbert Cutler,¹ Edward C. Hayes,² and Thomas J. Riley³ spoke out in the early days of this century. Some years later L. L. Bernard presented a paper to the Missouri Sociological Society in St. Louis (on April 15, 1931) in which he discussed the use of what he called "direct-contact materials." In this paper he lists and briefly discusses field study, museum materials, project studies, local surveys, experiments and demonstrations, firsthand accounts of observations and experiences, life histories, autobiography and biography, the motion picture, the radio, newspapers, the reading of dramas and novels, having students dramatize parts of the course and requiring students to construct inductively their own syllabi, outlines, or texts for the course.⁴ It will be recalled, too, that Cooley stressed the point that society is essentially dramatic. Surely most of us have neglected this fact in our teaching.

At this point it may be well to emphasize that teaching methods have to vary with the personalities, aptitudes, and facilities present in any given teaching situation. And it will be wise, too, to stress that there are advantages and disadvantages in any method. A technique is only a tool for teaching.

Let us turn now to specific plans, methods, and techniques.

¹ See the discussion of a paper by Charles A. Ellwood on "How Should Sociology Be Taught as a College or University Subject?," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XII (March, 1907), 604.

² See their remarks made in a discussion of a paper by James Q. Dealey on "The Teaching of Sociology" in *The American Journal of Sociology*, XV (March, 1910), 657-667.

³ L. L. Bernard, "To What Extent Could and Should the First College Course in Sociology Make Use of Direct Contact Materials?," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, VI (January, 1933), 272-277.

What about lectures? How many of us speak in an interesting and pleasant manner? Do clarity and vigor mark our organization and presentation of materials? Do we use such things as motion pictures, graphs, charts, maps, pictures, cartoons, and the like whenever possible? Do we see to it that the classroom is as comfortable as possible? These and many other questions may be raised. Small matters? They are not, though they may seem so at first.

What, then, is being done to improve the teaching of sociology? First let us comment upon the De Pauw Social (or "sociological") Museum. Vreeland reports that in its broadest sense the museum is a collection of graphic materials, illustrative of sociological facts and principles, organized for teaching purposes. He points out that it has well-organized visual aids together with facilities for their exhibition, construction, and storage. And speaking further about the museum he says:

. . . It represents an attempt to co-ordinate a wide variety of visual materials such as maps, charts, photographs, slides, moving pictures, dioramas, transparencies, models, primitive artifacts, and various objects of contemporary culture. Its physical facilities include a workshop, a storeroom, and office, and several exhibit rooms. One of the exhibit rooms is equipped with chairs, blackboard, and projection lantern for class use. The other rooms are supplied with reading tables, pamphlet and magazine racks, exhibit cases, swinging panels for charts, and several types of electrical devices for the automatic exhibition of pictures and charts.

The exhibits fall into two categories according to their use. There are items which are designed to be used on the same basis as regular textbook assignments, and there are other materials which are intended only for background information. One of the large problems of the museum is that of so designing and balancing materials that they may serve their specific purpose.⁴

The "project-research" is another method used in teaching sociology. Katona says that it can be used to great educational advantage on the college level and that it is one of the *musts* on any pro-

⁴ Francis M. Vreeland, "The Teaching Uses of a Sociology Museum," *American Sociological Review*, III (February, 1938), 33.

gram intending to vitalize college education. He gives an example of one such project-research—a study of race relations in a northern town—in a recent article.⁵ Projects for individual students are valuable, also. These should direct the student to close observational and analytical grips with the social world about him.

Some teachers have made excellent use of guest speakers. This, like all other methods, must be used with caution. It is important that the speakers appear at the proper time so as to fit in with the subject under study. They should be given a definite topic. Sometimes good lay persons will not agree to give a speech; in that case let them act as part of a discussion.

Attention should be called at this point to the contribution made by Howell and Meadows in the *Students' Manual for Introductory Sociology*.⁶ Here is an attempt to help the student relate his study of sociology to his own life and experiences. In this manual projects for students are carefully arranged and developed. How many of us have made a serious attempt to use this manual? It is so easy to decide against adopting anything new because at first we would be required to revise our teaching methods. It would be interesting to know how many instructors are using this manual or an adaptation of it at the present time.

Much could be written on the use of motion pictures, radios, and sound in teaching sociology. But it might be more effective to raise this question: how many of us have made any attempt to investigate these mediums of communication to see if we could adopt them and thereby improve our teaching? The possibilities of the motion picture, are, of course, tremendous. Radio is more limited in its educational possibilities, but we could make good use of news broadcasts, speeches, commentaries, discussions, music, and the like. And, as for phonographs, recordings of music,

⁵ Arthur Katona, "Project-Research: A Survey of Race Relations in a Northern Town," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, XX (November, 1946), 129-139.

⁶ Charles E. Howell, and Paul Meadows, *Students' Manual for Introductory Sociology*, (New York: American Book Company, 1939.)

dances, folk songs, etc., would aid in presenting the culture of a group

Katona has made some interesting suggestions in regard to the use of murals. In 1943 he reported the use of one, the names of others forthcoming, and the names of others being planned.⁷ This technique is not as available to most of us as others we have considered; but some of us could develop even this method

It would be good to know how many other teachers are using special techniques to improve their teaching. No doubt there are many. Undoubtedly many are doing a first class teaching job in such a quiet manner that the rest of us do not hear about it. I am reminded of the practice of Professor William Bailey of Northwestern University who has his students work with "live data" and who makes much use of charts and pictures. At this point it might be well to call attention to important new programs which are being adopted in our better institutions such as the new Dartmouth course titled "Great Issues" required of all seniors,⁸ and the emphasis placed upon "collateral studies" at Vassar.⁹

So far little has been said about attempts to help students to learn sociology by having them participate in community life and study its characteristics. One of the stresses of the new Vassar program is just that. This writer was much interested in a recent statement by President Conant of Harvard when he said, ". . . To my mind a scholar's activities should have relevance to the immediate future of our civilization."¹⁰

Let us remind ourselves again that the essence of sociology is to be found in people and how they behave. This is obvious enough and every sociologist no doubt agrees to it. But, as Katona says, ". . . After duly paying lip service, we make books and papers the stuff of sociology. . . . And seldom do we provide connecting

⁷ See the communication on "The Sociology Murals" in the *American Sociological Review*, VIII (February, 1943), 87-88

⁸ See *The New York Times*, July 6, 1947 (educational section)

⁹ See *The New York Times*, June 15, 1947 (educational section).

¹⁰ Quoted in *Time*, September 23, 1946, p. 53

links between the books and the people they deal with. To put it bluntly, we tend to study verbalisms, not people. . . ." ¹¹

Some real attempts have been made to use the community as a teaching laboratory. There have been programs to make widespread use of community projects in teacher education. Some experimental programs have been set up such as the one at Central State Teachers College at Mount Pleasant, Michigan.¹² And of the field course on "Southern Conditions" sponsored in the summer of 1939 (and later) by Teachers College of Columbia University in co-operation with The Open Road, Gordon Blackwell says:

. . . Experiences which are "lived" rather than merely "read" may be more fully understood and remembered longer. Moreover, skill in sociological analysis should be acquired which can be used by the individual in his profession or in everyday life as a citizen in a democracy¹³

(Most of the students on this project are on the graduate level; but there is no reason why the principle would not apply to undergraduates.)

Dr Blackwell also reports on Furman University's program of community analysis and development and its values to the students. He indicates that the probability is that these students will leave college more eager and better able to assume their share of the responsibilities which democracy places on the local community ¹⁴

There are other institutions of higher learning where interesting and progressive work is being done. We shall mention just a few of them. *The New York Times* for January 15, 1939, carried a story on how sociology students at Elmira College were studying

¹¹ Katona, *op cit*, p. 129

¹² Florence Greenhoe, "Contribution of Community Sociology to Teacher Training," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, XIII (April, 1940), 464

¹³ Gordon W. Blackwell, "Sociology Analysis Through Field Course Procedure," *Social Forces* XII (March, 1941), 364-365

¹⁴ Gordon W. Blackwell, "The College in Relation to Community Analysis and Development," *Social Forces*, XX (October, 1941), 70-76. See also the report on the Furman University program in *The New York Times*, February 10, 1941

the city of Elmira in connection with the course on community organization. The same paper on April 2, 1939, carried a story of how Bennington College girls were studying the town of Bennington. And recently it has been reported that sociology students at Wilson College are co-operating with the Pennsylvania Department of Health in its Child Health Conference program as their major 1946-1947 field-work project.¹⁵

Reference should be made here to the interesting program of "learning from the community" under the direction of Evelyn R. Hodgdon at State Teachers College, Oneonta, New York. Also, the excellent work relating community and teaching being done at Michigan State College under Troy L. Stearns should be emphasized. Further attention should be called to a recent article which gives details of a continuing project in social studies involving both schools and neighborhood councils.¹⁶

I have developed what I call the "community-laboratory technique" which is used in selected sociology courses. Treatment of this method will be brief here. It is a plan to have students spend part of each week in nearby social agencies, trying out their classroom theories under everyday conditions. It is based on the belief that subjects so intimately linked with people's lives cannot be studied in a vacuum or out of books alone, especially by young students whose experiences so far have been centered largely within their own primary groups. Therefore, classroom study is paralleled by and illustrated with continuous firsthand observations outside the college, under trained agency directors.

At the beginning of the term each student is assigned to one of the co-operating community agencies and placed under the direction of an experienced worker at the agency who knows the aims of the program and the content of the student's college course. The students make monthly and semester reports to the instructor.

¹⁵ See *The New York Times*, December 15, 1946.

¹⁶ Letty Tecford, and Jane Stewart, "The Neighborhood Is Our Classroom," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, XX (January, 1947), 281-286.

and the agency directors do also, rating the students on their participation, alert interest, and other items. *All* students in these courses work under this plan; it is definitely not aimed at the sociology major but rather at the student who may take only one such course. One aim is to integrate the subject matter of the course with actual life situations as the student observes them. Another aim is to help make the liberal-arts education a direct and vital preparation for life, to equip future professional people, businessmen, and housewives for a rational, understanding approach to the complex problems of society.

Success of this "community-laboratory technique" is hard to measure accurately as yet, but many favorable comments coming from former students after course grades are in (sometimes coming months later from students graduated) indicate that students feel that this type of education is very much worth-while. Study and improvement of this teaching method is continuing.

Thus we have given here just a glimpse of the need for and development of newer methods of teaching sociology. It is encouraging to learn that various studies are being made in regard to the improvement of teaching methods. (See the report of research studies under the title "Educational Sociology" in the August 1946 issue of *The American Sociological Review*.) The reader interested in this subject will certainly enjoy and find stimulating Herbert D. Lamson's recent article, "Evaluation of Sociology Teaching."¹⁷ And attention should be called to an article by H. C. Brearley on teaching sociology which is to appear in the fall of 1947 in a bulletin titled, "Teaching of the Social Sciences in Colleges," to be issued by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. Also, anyone investigating this problem ought to read Katona's 1943 article which is, in my estimation, a provocative statement of the problem.¹⁸

¹⁷ In *Sociology and Social Research*, XXXI, No. 6 (July-August, 1947), 429-434.

¹⁸ Arthur Katona, "The Teaching of Sociology in a Democracy," *American Sociological Review*, VIII (August, 1943), 439-447.

In closing this brief discussion it should be made clear that these newer methods are not presented here to give the impression that they are intended to be substitutes for the content of any course. Quite the contrary, they are intended merely as supplementary aids. And it should be stressed, too, that the adoption of any new method involves its "growing pains." Most of them require more equipment, more teaching time, and more money. Some of us are experiencing the necessity of "selling" our own administrations and colleagues. (Even when they are already favorable, as in my case, they are often limited in the speed with which they can grant us additional funds, equipment, and personnel.) But perhaps the surest way to increase the resources available for the teaching of sociology is to develop better methods which will make their own appeal for support. Some of us are now at the "in-between stage" which is very difficult. But few things worth achieving come easily.

Also, it should be made clear that it is not contended that any of the newer methods will stimulate *all* students. The claim is made, however, that many of the newer techniques will stimulate *more* of the students *more* often than do the older methods. Please note the alternatives. The choice before us seems clear. Are we doing all that we can to make our courses vital and worth-while to the student?

It is easy to find fault with any method, especially a new one. And all too often this is used as an excuse for doing nothing to improve our teaching. Do we really believe that education ought to be student-centered? If so, most of us need to make many improvements in our teaching methods. If not, we should leave teaching to hands and minds better suited for that opportunity.

David M. Fulcomer is Associate Professor of Sociology and Chairman of the Division of Social Studies in Brothers' College of Drew University, Madison, New Jersey.

THE CAMPUS CLIQUE AS AN AGENCY OF SOCIALIZATION

Orden Smucker

Sociologists have given extensive theoretical recognition to the function of various primary groupings in the socialization process. Relatively little attention has been given to the significant socializing influence of the small, spontaneous, and intimate subgroups of the college campus culture.

As in other primary groups, the affectional bonds and sympathetic attitudes generated from the interaction in the campus cliques are basic to personality development. This paper will examine some of the unique aspects and peculiar adaptations made by the primary group in the campus culture.

The material for this discussion is derived chiefly from a study made of the dormitory friendship patterns at a midwestern junior college for girls which draws its students principally from the upper middle-class stratum of society. The various subgroups were identified on the basis of a sociographic charting of the friendship structure of six of the campus dormitories.

This type of presentation reveals a variety of "subgroupal" nucleations, the number and character of which may be used to describe the group's social behavior. The clique was found to be the most common type of subgroup¹ in the dormitories studied and our observations are limited to this particular structure.

After the subgroups were spotted in the "sociograms," extensive interviews were held with members of twenty-five clearly defined cliques.² Other information concerning these individuals was

¹ Open and closed cliques were found numerously. The open clique is a type of structure in which the intimate interaction is not completely exclusive. The closed clique is one in which there are no friendship choices outside the immediate group. Other types of subgroups are clusters, which center on a dominant personality, and mutual pairs, triangles, and quadrangles in which two, three, or four individuals all choose each other as friends.

² Interviews held with clique members were "nondirective" in character with the real intent of the meeting obscured. This was done to secure a more spontaneous reaction and to avoid suspicion so that the interviewer could more accurately assess the behavior and personality characteristics of individual clique members.

secured from hall counselors, advisers, teachers, and friends of the students. Careful notations were made of the interests, attitudes, values, and behavior of clique members.

Early in the progress of the study it was recognized that one of the hypotheses would be only partially validated. The hypothesis was that the clique is a factor disruptive to campus unity; that it promotes snobbishness by its exclusiveness and is therefore an undesirable influence. While some of the findings certainly indicated negative characteristics, at the same time it was found that there are positive benefits gained by numerous individuals in their adjustments to college life because of clique membership.

One of the significant findings was that the clique is more influential in behavior determination than the larger dormitory or campus units. The individual members of the cliques are more loyal to the standards and more responsive to the values of the intimate subgroup than they are to the larger secondary campus groups of which they are also participants.

It is in the clique that the dynamic processes of socialization and acculturation take place. Loyalty to clique codes is of supreme importance to the members, and frequently status in the clique was enhanced by disloyalty to or ridicule of some of the formal campus codes.

Every clique studied had a central core of interest and a value pattern sufficiently unique that it could be identified by certain over-all behavior characteristics. Several of the hall counselors identified the cliques depicted on the sociograms and referred to them with such characterizations as "the literary group," "the jitterbug gang," "the bridge players," "that noisy bunch."

Brief characterization of several typical cliques follows:

No. 1 Five of the seven members of this clique are from the deep South and are known to their hall counselor as "that noisy gang." Their behavior is rather unrestrained and they tend to scoff at traditional behavior. They appeared rather bored at having to participate in

the ritual and expected behaviors of their social class. They tend to dress sloppily and the group rather frequently violates campus rules. Every member of the clique has a lower than average campus prestige rating.⁸

No. 2 The six members of this clique are from Midwestern states, with one exception, and all of them hold various editorial posts in campus publications. They are a very closely knit group with interests predominantly intellectual. They are known to their hall counselor as being very co-operative in their dormitory group-life. All of these girls have future literary ambitions, and spend a good deal of time talking about these concerns and working together on their writing projects.

No. 3 This clique has no common geographic background but there is a central behavior pattern that is lively, exuberant, noisy, and bordering on the raucous. They enjoy jitterbug dancing, play cards almost constantly, and engage in adolescent banter about dates, clothes, and food. When this group is together there is hilarious laughter and giggling. They have a ready collection of wisecracks, jokes, and gags which they spring on each other with much glee. They are not in any sense discipline problems to the college but simply are not much impressed with the more serious intellectual concerns on the campus.

No. 4 All eight members of this clique are from the same southern state, with four of the members being from the same community in that state. All of them are charming conversationalists well-versed in the social ritual and niceties characteristic of their social class background. They are well-poised and groomed. They enjoy bridge, horse-back riding, and swimming. None belongs to a club whose concern is intellectual. They are very much at home at college teas and have proved themselves to be capable hostesses.

Everyone of the cliques studied was characterized by a set of mutual interests, and could be identified by several dominant values and behavior patterns to which the individual member gave her allegiance and loyalty.

A definite process in clique formation and operation was noted. Individuals with similar values and interests are attracted to each other, first on an informal basis. The dominant interest of the

⁸ Every student in the study was given a prestige rating score based on questionnaire data in which students were rated on different kinds of prestige typed behavior, of both a positive and negative quality.

group is defined and redefined as additional friendships are attracted. The nucleus of the group is composed of those individuals closest to the clique's core of interest

Some individuals find that their interests and values are not in accord with the dominant concerns of the clique and remove themselves, or are removed by the clique. The rejected individuals then gravitate to other groups hoping to find friends of a more kindred nature, and the whole process starts over. When the personnel of the clique is fairly well-established and the concerns of the subgroup defined, the clique operates continuously as an agency of socialization.

In the informal meetings and get-togethers of the clique campus personalities are discussed and rated, the campus social rituals interpreted, teachers and courses evaluated, intimate concerns are shared, and dating and rating are discussed.

Not only did the clique function in the area of primary group relationships, but it also served as a vehicle for the establishment of secondary group contacts. It was established that membership in campus organizations was initiated by members who would persuade friends in their own intimate circles to join the organization.

The informal intimate interactions of the clique occur in a variety of ways: at the drug store drinking "cokes," on the way to class, at late hour "feeds" in the rooms of the members, at bridge sessions; but most importantly at the ever present "bull sessions" held in various dormitory rooms.

Here attitudes are redefined, and the value structure of the group organized around the common concerns of the clique. While each member contributes to the interaction from which the total group point of view emerges, she in turn orients her own value scheme in terms of the clique value pattern and attitude structure.

Group loyalties in various degrees of intensity develop in the

cliques. Loyalty to clique standards was much higher in the closed than in the open cliques. The least amount of loyalty and the least rigidity in behavior patterning occurred in the cluster. In this case it was the strength of the leader's dominant personality that held the group together, with common values functioning more as an incidental factor.

Contrary to the hypothesis that the clique influence is largely detrimental to dormitory living we found that it served numerous very useful functions. For many individuals the clique is the chief area of expression. In the strange new world of the campus-culture the informal subgroup is the nearest equivalent of the family. The traumatic effect of separation from parents is cushioned because of the intimate friendly contacts provided in clique groupings.

In providing primary group type of contacts the clique protects its members from the rebuffs of the larger impersonal college groups. The clique provides the intimate social milieu where personal concerns can be given full expression.

One girl reacted to the interviewer as follows:

Maybe it isn't exactly right that the members of our clique should associate with each other on such an exclusive basis, but it means a lot to have these friends who accept you as you are. We share each other's secrets and are able to let our hair down. I think that friendships formed on this basis are one of the most satisfactory aspects of our college experience. Then too it means that we are never left out of things. We always have friends with whom we can go places and have good times. We often have feeds together late at night in which we talk and laugh and have lots of fun together. I wouldn't have missed this for anything in the world.

While friendship advantages were recognized, the hall counselors of this institution recognize several problems created by the presence of a large number of dormitory cliques. First, the unwanted or left-out individuals in some cases developed maladjustments because of their lack of social acceptance.

Secondly, the tendency of students to pattern their behavior according to the values of the subgroup rather than to those of the total college ideals resulted in less effectiveness of some of the campus organizations which hope for a more prominent recognition of their goals.

Thirdly, many of the cliques caused restraints to be applied to members making for a more than mediocre level of academic achievement. For the most part gaining distinction in scholarship was frowned on. Clique pressures seemed to keep academic achievement fairly close to the college norm.

Nevertheless the positive benefits of the clique cannot be denied, and counselors might well explore the possibility of finding a suitable campus subgroup of the clique variety for every individual. Also existing as a possibility for investigation is the matter of determining some satisfactory means of diverting some of the enthusiasm and loyalty for the clique to the total campus goals and value patterns.

Educators, guidance and personnel workers, social workers, sociologists, and others interested in problems of managing the group processes could well give more attention to the exploitation of the campus clique as an agency of socialization and education, particularly in terms of socially desirable goals.

Orden C. Smucker is Associate Professor in the Department of Social Science, Sociology, and Anthropology of Michigan State College

THE WAY OF THE BOY SCOUTS

An Evaluation of an American Youth Organization

Herbert S. Lewin

The paragon of the successful, self-reliant, courageous, and self-made man is a traditional American ideal. It is quite certainly the educational ideal of the Boy Scouts of America. But the virtues, which were of vital importance in the frontier period, have lost much of their meaning in a world in which the opportunities for individual achievement and initiative are clearly limited by an economic and social structure, which in spite of fluctuations is pretty well-organized and patterned. Today most youngsters are forced to work under conditions that demand a mechanical and standardized performance rather than individual resourcefulness. Nor is in this society as much opportunity left as heretofore to realize the adventurous and enterprising spirit so often advocated in the Scout literature. Individual achievement in our society is usually based on competition. It does not mean the type of territorial or economic expansion as in the days of unlimited frontier opportunities, rather it means an unrelenting weeding-out of the rival.

Obviously, to uphold and to inculcate ideals in a context in which they have lost or changed much of their original meaning and importance must ultimately lead to feelings of frustration. As yet, these feelings have not become too manifest in our society, but we must expect a strong increase of emotional imbalance and social maladjustment if the impossibility to realize frontier ideals becomes increasingly evident.

The Boy Scout movement cannot be unaware of the danger of emphasizing frontier ideals in a highly interdependent society. If for nothing else the organization must make those adaptive changes which are required by the altered social conditions.

These new conditions do not imply the elimination of self-

expression and individual accomplishment, nor do they abolish personal responsibility and independence. A democratic society must protect and give leeway to the self-expressive faculties of the individual. At the same time it must promote and protect social intercourse. It must demand from its members not only verbal acclaim but actual participation. It must ask that the ideals of man and society be re-examined from time to time rather than be considered as absolutely good because of their time acquired halo.

It is evident that the Boy Scouts strongly stress individual development and initiative. Yet, in spite of this emphasis, it is equally true that the Scout as an individual is socially less potent, and his status in society weaker than was that of the Hitler youth member in a totalitarian Germany. In his group the Scout is probably less anonymous than the former, because he gets more individual recognition and is more frequently called into (adult-supervised) leadership roles. But the Scout is not only more dependent upon individual adults, he too shares the fate of most individuals in our type of democratic society. For, although he is formally acknowledged as an individual in his own rights, he is much less immediately involved in significant social processes than was the young national socialist. Though under compulsion and for aims alien to us, the young German was a steady participant in the development of his country. As a student, as an apprentice, as member of his family, even as a member of his church, the Hitler youth was always made aware of his varied responsibility for his greater community. Nothing like it can be said of youngsters, Scouts or non-Scouts, in our country.

Thus, while stressing the need for the individual's personal development, the Scout movement has fallen short with respect to a policy of social participation. The movement, following a policy of "neutrality," "non-interference," and "impartiality," has not clearly taken issue with the great controversial problems of our society. As a whole, the policy of the Boy Scouts tends to

maintain the status quo. As a result it happens, for instance, that even today many Scout Troops will not accept Negro boys in their ranks. We shall see at once that the conceptions of the Boy Scout organization with respect to the requirements of our democratic society are vague.

Certainly the Boy Scouts is not the agency to develop its own political and social program. It is not a political youth organization. However, the organization through action of its National Council should do away with a policy of vague neutrality and social aloofness. It should invite the initiative of youth to formulate a program of social participation, a program which is especially concerned with the needs of youth. It should organize the education of boys for an incipient understanding of the great issues in our national community. Education is not an autonomous process that goes on independent of time and space. It is tied up with some particular civilization at some particular time. Civic education cannot be limited to the spread of generalities on the state of one's country.

No doubt, Scouts are loyal to American institutions, but what the Scouts (and for this purpose many other people) have not yet sufficiently learned is what these institutions mean in operation. A merely verbalized "loyalty to our form of government," or "tolerance toward everyone," is insufficient. Verbalization must be replaced by the capacity to distinguish between a well-working and an inefficient government, between sound and sham tolerance, between advanced and outworn regulations for our life.

Youths, even young boys of 13, 14, and 15 years of age, should get an elementary understanding of the world in which they live and which will be theirs tomorrow. They should be enabled to attempt an evaluation of their role and individual prospects in the great community to which they belong. They should not only be acquainted (as Scouts usually are) with the formal content of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, but they

should know something about the dynamic nature of these documents. The knowledge that both imply social progress and change will strengthen the awareness of youth, for present needs for social adjustment and still the possible fears of their elders who may see in change the forebodings of sinister forces.

The advocacy of "neutrality" and "nonpartisanship" deprives the Scout movement of its full effectiveness as an educational force not only in the national but in the international sphere as well. Scouting advocates the brotherhood of man and good will among all people of the earth. The international Boy Scout movement has followers among nearly all people of the earth, and the Boy Scouts of America as well as all brother organizations have often confirmed their common ideals not only by international signs, mottoes, and uniforms, but by international "jamborees," which, no doubt, have contributed to the mutual understanding of young people of different nations.

Yet, in the field of international understanding too Scouting relies on individual virtues, on moral sentiments rather than on the proposal of social change. Moral sentiments are entirely valuable as motivating power but they are meaningless without intelligent direction, *i.e.*, without proper interpretation and goal setting. The American and British Scout movement has recently made efforts to transplant the ideals of scouting to Germany in an effort to help in the re-education of the German youth. This intention is absolutely praiseworthy, but the evidence indicates that we deal here with a humanitarian effort without consideration of past experiences and the reality requirements of the German situation. It is an indisputable fact that all attempts to introduce scouting in Germany came to nil in pre-Hitler Germany. The few German youth groups ever affiliated with the international Boy Scout movement quickly gave up this affiliation, some groups adapted the ideals of the German Youth Movement, some became organizations for the pre-military training of youth. No doubt, the Scout

movement is now confronted with a task incomparably more difficult than decades ago.

We know that many, probably the majority of the German youths, are presently lethargic to most social and moral issues. This state of affairs is evidently undesirable. Whatever the means and ends of the reconstruction of Germany may be, the process of reconstruction cannot take place without the knowledge and participation of youth in many concrete aspects of this process. The phases of this process have to be explored, plans will have to be made and rejected, sides have to be taken pro or con. The attitude of "neutrality" and "non-interference" cannot possibly be maintained by a youth who is expected to explore and to assume a new way of life. This unavoidable participation in social issues does not mean the politization of youth in the sense of aligning youth with political parties. It means the inescapability of their becoming aware that such issues exist and that youth must participate in deciding on them. Under these circumstances it seems very improbable that a German Boy Scout movement, based on the universal principle of "nonpartisanship" and "neutrality," can acquire a mass basis in the foreseeable future in spite of the very best efforts of British and American Scout leaders.

Naturally, the young Boy Scout cannot possibly decide what his movement should do in the international scene, but here again he should possess at least an elementary understanding of fundamental international issues of progresses and changes going on rather than to rely on sentiments alone.

We know that in their patrol method the Boy Scouts have a potentially very effective method of developing an understanding for democratic practices, but the patrol method is frequently far from being practiced in the recommended way. The movement must make the patrol an instrument of democratic group education. Its activities must be "boy-planned and boy-executed" not only in principle but as a general practice. The patronizing of

youth by adults should be reduced to a minimum. No longer should the Scoutmaster appoint boy leaders, no longer should he prescribe the group program. Youth should participate in the formulation and direction of Scouting activities on a local and *even on a national level*. Boy and adult leader should receive a more intensive and systematic training. The range of activities should be enlarged in order to give Scouts a greater field of vision for their future participation in society. Play activities, scout crafts, hiking and camping should still form the bulk of the program, but it should also include activities that will introduce the Scout to the problems of social relationships, such as, get-togethers and discussions with other youth groups of different races and religions, intergroup discussion on juvenile delinquency, school problems or group tensions. All these activities do not have to possess an academic character, in fact they should not, but they should arouse an elementary interest for an understanding of social issues. In doing so the patrols will become the "working units" of Scouting, and the inadequate practices of many Scout leaders will yield to truly democratic approaches.

No doubt, the Scout movement has sound intentions with respect to the educational role of the patrol and its leadership. But in considering our society essentially in static terms it has robbed itself not only of greater effectiveness as an educational force, but it lacks the forward-driving aspects which motivated and enthused so many Hitler youth members. By the same token the Scout movement has not given its members the same strong sense of security and "belongingness" as many Hitler youth members possessed. The rather strong fluctuation of the Scout membership indicates the inability of the movement to hold lasting loyalty.

Indeed the most advanced educational methods will not work by themselves for the continuation and improvement of a democratic society and of any subgroup in it, if these methods are divorced from social context, *i.e.*, from the changing conditions of

our social life. The Hitler youth has often used methods of even greater effectiveness than those of the Boy Scouts. Good methods, even if practiced, and laudable goals, even if continuously recommended, do not guarantee by themselves a desired outcome unless there is a very definite interrelationship between both.

In any case, the Boy Scouts are a truly representative youth organization of American society. In a way the Boy Scouts typify a dilemma of democracy. In contrast to the Nazi system, in which everything was subordinated to a purpose imposed from above, our democratic society aims to realize its goals in the social process, a process in which every individual is expected to participate. The aims of a democracy emerge and are redefined in this process. Unlike the aims and methods of Nazism they often lack distinctiveness and direction. But, lacking a clear image of democracy, the Boy Scouts have not yet sufficiently striven for what appears to be the most desirable goal for a youth movement in a democracy: namely to prepare youths for participating citizenship in the spirit of independence, *i.e.*, not just for the preservation of the status quo but for active participation in the social processes of our time.

This is certainly a desirable goal for a youth organization. To attain it, however, is far more than a matter of good intentions and pronouncements. It is basically a matter of very prosaic practices of experiments that ultimately will emanate the desired goal. We must recognize that our society (and, of course, a youth movement in its midst) lacks greatly those meaning and impetus giving principles that permeate, by force or by voluntary acceptance, the life of individuals in a totalitarian state. We should not hesitate to learn even from our defeated enemies. While we refuse to accept their philosophy of life, we must concede that the Hitler youth put into practice educational principles, which are recommended, yet never satisfactorily realized in our country. The persistent channelizing of youthful energies into community service, the strict adherence to the principle of group leadership youth by youth, or the promotion of educational opportunities for gifted

youths regardless of social status are, as such, very laudable principles of group education, but were, under the national socialist regime, what has been called "perverted virtues." To be sure, these "virtues" were used for ends unacceptable in a democracy, but of significance is (1) that the Hitler youth emphasized and promoted principles which as such are considered by us as rather advanced; (2) that there was much less of a cleavage between recommended goals and practices than in our society; and (3) that the convergence of means and ends was apparently a strong force in maintaining the emotional balance of the individual and a sound morale of the group in peace time as well as under the hardship of war.

Yet, in spite of all imperfections of democratic education, we have some definite ideas about the educational means and ends of a democracy, and we know that the cleavage between recommended ends and practices can be considerably narrowed. We know that our youth shall be educated to independent thinking, to respect and understand the opinions and convictions of others, and to a co-operative effort for the weal of the community. We know further that youth in a democracy shall be guided rather than be ruled, and taught how to discern right from wrong rather than be indoctrinated by totalitarian principles.

Youth will be one of the strongest forces in the coming social reconstruction and reorganization of our democratic order. Youth could stay aside and be passed over in a static society that relied on the transfer of tradition and was reluctant to release the creative energies of youth. But, a new social order must be built with the active and enthusiastic support of youth, a youth unencumbered by traditional conventions and prejudices and ready to be the pioneer of a better future. This is youth's historical function. The youth movement, testing and overhauling its old methods and ends, must prepare to partake decisively in this development.

ADOLESCENT PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY CO-ORDINATING COUNCILS

Abe B. Stein

If young people are to become the self-reliant, well-adjusted, and critical-thinking adults, who are essential to the success of a democratic society, then adolescents must be recognized as being increasingly capable of managing their own affairs, and of sharing responsibility for the workings of the community. Such sharing of responsibility can be brought about only if adults are willing to regard adolescents as responsible persons who have dignity and individual rights.

During the period of adolescence, people should be and can be prepared to take an active and full part in the affairs of their community. Nor should we think of this process as merely preparation for the future, instead, it is concerned with current and full participation of adolescents in the affairs of the community. An excellent medium for such participation is the community co-ordinating council which will be described herein. In addition, a specific school program will be recommended which might help youths to participate as full-fledged members of the community co-ordinating council.

The Community Co-ordinating Council

In many communities there exists a duplication of community activities quite frequently accompanied by "cut-throat" competition for funds, prestige, power, and priority. There results a waste and a poor distribution of public funds and private contributions. There are numerous petty prejudices—sometimes supported by legal enactment—concerning administration and areas of function, and occasionally there are even discriminations in service against groups because of their race, religion, sex, economic status, or political affiliation. The net result of these overlapping baili-

wicks of special and restricted function is all the more tragic because, at best, the resources for community service are limited. It is generally recognized that an excellent way to eliminate these refined inefficiencies is to resort to the formation of a community co-ordinating council. Such a community co-ordinating council would be concerned with the total field of human welfare, and might be composed of representatives of all public and private agencies dedicated to welfare programs. The public agencies in this category, as, for example, the departments of education, health, police, fire, sanitation, and welfare, should, of course, be represented in the council. The voluntary agencies like the cancer, heart, infantile paralysis, and tuberculosis associations, for example, would be included similarly. All social-work, child-welfare, and family-welfare agencies; service clubs, such as the Lions, the Elks, the Kiwanians, and the Masons, church groups, veterans' organizations, the YMCA and the YMHA—indeed, all the civic-minded, "helping-hand" organizations functioning in a community—would belong on the council. The point to be made here, however, is that the membership roster would be incomplete and unbalanced if the representation were made up entirely of adults. It is not only that such membership would awaken a civic consciousness early and prevent the all-too-common passivity of young adulthood in the matter of assuming community responsibilities; it is also that the functions of a community council immediately would become more effective through the use of the viewpoints, skills, and special enthusiasms of the adolescent community.

Some attention to the general organization principles governing a good community council ought to be given here. The following list, taken in part from the recommendations of the 1947 National Conference on Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency, is recommended:

- 1 The function of the council, as implied in its name, should be that of co-ordinating rather than of directly operating the services involved.

It should develop the existing facilities and resources, and make recommendations for new ones to meet increasing needs.

2. Representation or membership should be on the broadest possible basis

3. Both professional and lay persons and groups should be included.

4. The organizational pattern should be kept simple and flexible.

5. All representative groups should retain their autonomy but should be related to all other groups and to the council—as in the case of the fifty-five nations membership of the United Nations.

6. The council always should be guided by its aim of improving the whole area of human welfare—not by aims of policing existing set-ups.

The planning and co-ordinating functions of the council would fall under four broad categories. The four categories and some activities which should be included under them are:

1 *Economic planning* This should deal with the development of a sound commercial and industrial structure so that people would have an opportunity to earn an adequate living

2 *Physical planning*. This should deal with the use of land and the development of the community with respect to streets, parks, sewers, public housing, and public buildings.

3 *Social planning*. This should deal with problems of health, welfare, and the constructive use of leisure time, which would include all the regular welfare and recreational aspects of the programs of the schools and of the police; and of the medical, dental, and other professions.

4 *Cultural planning*. This should deal with the educational, religious, artistic, and general cultural development of the community

Some one person or agency could initiate the organization of the council by inviting representatives of all the afore-mentioned community agencies to an organizational meeting. As soon as possible, the community needs could be surveyed. Such a jointly run survey need reflect on no single agency among the total; for it would not be an efficiency engineer's study of an existing group's performance. When the survey has been translated into planned remedy, the function of each agency would be clearly articulated;

its service understood; only its partial responsibility taken for granted; and its failures felt as the community's loss, not as an example of the inefficiency or stupidity of the administering body

There are in the nations's recent history countless examples of some such community organization. It is not the purpose here, primarily, to indicate any but the broadest outlines of such an organization. The chief point to be made, here, is that youth must share in its community projects, both for the immediate and ultimate good of the community and for the immediate and ultimate good of the individual youths.

Where a community offers its youth such an opportunity of real participation in social control, the schools should seize the magnificent opportunities at hand. Some attention is here given to the type of school program which might emerge in this favored environment.

The School Program

The school could schedule a regular course of study, particularly at the high-school level, for the purpose of student discussion, planning, and practice in community council participation. What would go into such a course would of course depend upon the community and its needs, or, to put it differently, what would go into such a course would depend upon what would have gone into the given community co-ordinating council. It ought to be a course which would have as much dignity, as much "status" as any other course in the curriculum, without connotation of the extracurricular, or the optional one-fourth unit credit associated with minor electives. If it would be necessary to limit such a definitive preoccupation with these matters to the twelfth grade, then, at least, the focus of the social-studies work at each of the previous levels could be the preparation for the climax course Community civics, usually taught early in a high-school career, would be ready-made for such an auxiliary purpose as has been

suggested. Identification of problems, which is the first need of adolescents looking at the civic structure, would begin here. Such themes as the interdependence of men, the relation of responsibility to privilege, the danger of apathetic citizenry—all announced aims of world history courses—could be translated into community projects; or at least into recognition of a need for them, in the second of these typical social-studies offerings in the high-school program. It is of course not only a matter of attitude! Skills are involved, and the ordinary skills of unearthing facts could well be developed by unearthing *local* facts. The connection of these skills with the ultimate community surveys is plain. The matter of presiding at meetings of organized groups, of acting in accord with constitutional and parliamentary rule, of speaking effectively and briefly—all these are more urgently motivated when there is a specific and local climax to be anticipated outside the school world.

No school by itself can provide such excellent motivations as will exist when the community initiates the opportunity for school training to function directly. Just as the typing student “gladly learns” when the community needs typists, so would the social-science student “gladly learn” when the community needs him and shows that it does.

Example of Active Adolescent Participation

To illustrate how active adolescent participation can function in the solution of a problem, let us consider the following case. Several instances of juvenile delinquency had suddenly appeared in the community. The nature of the delinquencies included petty thievery, sex offenses, and vandalism. The council met and the entire meeting was devoted to the afore-mentioned problem. The council's committee on child welfare was assigned to study the problem and make recommendations. This committee was composed of one adolescent representative as well as representatives of other agencies which were part of the council. The adolescent

representative took his assignment directly to the student body "Juvenile Delinquency in the Community" became the topic for discussion in the regular class periods of the course "Community Affairs." The students, because of their interest in and intimacy with the problem, easily recognized the needs, and made numerous recommendations. These recommendations were presented to the adolescent member of the committee on child welfare, who in turn reported these findings to that committee. The contributions of the adolescent members were invaluable to the committee on child welfare, especially the recommendations for solution which were suggested by the adolescents.

One of the recommendations was that provisions be made for wholesome recreation. It was suggested that the high-school gymnasium, located in that community, be made available after school hours under adequate supervision. This recommendation was approved by the council, and was carried out because of the co-operation of the school board of education, which provided the physical facilities; the mens' service organizations, which paid the salaries necessary to provide adequate supervision of the facilities; and the children, who co-operated enthusiastically—due in no small measure to the fact that they had actively participated in the policy making.

The adolescents made several other recommendations which were excellent. For example, regarding the matter of sex offenses, they proposed an improved course in sex education. All in all, the entire experience, from the planning to the carrying out, was an extremely valuable one for everyone concerned. Adolescents were *really* being educated for citizenship in a democracy.

Exploitation of Youngsters

Young people should not be exploited and asked to perform chores that are as hateful to them as they are to adults unless both groups share equally in the performance of these chores. The adolescents' duties as members of the council are not to be belittled

and disdained by asking them to clean up the parks; to be kind to animals, to do one good deed a day, etc. These may be admirable services, but adolescents may consider such requests as being childish and overworked, and they can easily point to adults who violate these same "boy scout" details. The council must maintain complete respect for its young constituents by allowing them equal representation and respect together with all groups. Boys and girls should not be asked to do the work without having participated in the planning, and without an understanding of the values of the outcome. If a group of students accepts a phase of a community problem to work on, helps plan the method of attack, carries it through to conclusion, and evaluates the outcome in terms of its purposes and plans, the service has been an excellent learning experience for all concerned.

Participation by All

Another danger that may develop is that the few students who represent the entire group may become the only ones who participate. The whole student group should be brought into the planning, organizing, and participating. The total student body in its "Community Affairs" course should be kept informed on all plans made by their representatives. No final policies or plans should be established without the sanction of the class. This tends to ensure each individual's accepting his responsibility more readily, and results in more active and wholehearted support of the plans.

RURAL LEADERSHIP—ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

Mrs. Charley Tidd Cole

In rural areas leadership is limited by population, geographic conditions, and communication facilities. Potential leaders exist only in proportion to the number of people who live within a given area, and these become effective only in proportion to their ability to meet with the people or to communicate with them in some form, easily and without undue effort. Such limitation of leaders in rural areas, however, has led to the development of democratic leadership in a manner unequaled, indeed not even possible, in urban areas.

Because of its nature, rural leadership must be indigenous. This does not rule out the professional groups who are "sent in" to rural areas for the operation of "programs," but it does limit their contribution to that of an advisory status. Real leadership for programs must come from the people or the programs will die out, become ineffective, or resented and misunderstood even though endured for the benefits which may accrue. One of the primary and most significant function of outside professional groups is the discovery of local leadership, and its subsequent utilization.

Rural communities find their own leaders through a process of trial and error, or of acceptance and rejection. Once established this leadership becomes the center, the focal point around which is built the life of the community; and on which the community depends to share its problems, to help solve those problems, participate actively in the struggle, and to reap the rewards or defeats which accrue.

Community of interest defines any community, at all levels. For many years the rural community was built around the church or the school. To a large extent this is true today. Where such a system has disappeared there is evidence of decadent communities

which no longer have a common interest. Basic to rural life is this group feeling, this awareness of belonging together in a common program of community living. When the church disappears, or when the school is abolished, community spirit is lost; there is no focus to it, no center around which it can revolve. Churches disappear primarily because the community can no longer afford to pay a minister or maintain a church building. This has come about because the people in the community are no longer of the same religious denomination, or because those who belong to different denominations now find it possible to go to town to attend the church of their own faith. When they were limited to their own community for church attendance due to the lack of good roads or transportation facilities, they joined with their neighbors in a common worship. With barriers removed they go elsewhere. For whatever reason, it is apparent that the rural church as we have known it in disadvantaged rural areas is passing, though slowly; and with its going disappears one of the strongest forces for democratic living in the nation. The small one-room schools are going along with the churches. Consolidation is becoming more effective year by year, leaving in its wake despairing communities which cannot stand together against a system they do not understand and in which they have so little voice. "Small attendance" schools are being closed, although thousands of children who live in isolated areas inaccessible to school transportation are thus made unable to attend school. There must be a common interest to maintain community life and progress. If the rural church and the rural school move to town then communities are faced with developing a new community interest of real worth, or of seeing one of questionable value develop from the outside. Examples are the well-known roadside dance hall and the emotionally conducted religious service.

This rural community, built around the church or the school, or without either, has its own natural leader. But the characteris-

tics of this leader are different from those usually associated with leadership. Ordinarily, leadership is accepted as leadership in one thing. "He is a leader in music, in civic affairs, in education, in welfare." He must be a leader in something to get people to follow him. But in small rural communities, the leader is a leader of the people in the community, not in art, not in religion, nor in recreation, but in just plain living. He is chosen, accepted, and retained through the years as a leader because he is one of the people, no better, no worse. He knows the problems of his community because he has the same problems; he shares its sorrows and joys because he has the same sorrows and joys; he goes hungry when his neighbors go hungry and grows rich when they grow rich. He has attained leadership because of his integrity. His people trust him and abide by his decisions. There is always one such person in every rural community if efforts will be made to discover him.

Rural areas are made up of many communities, each having its leader. Such a leader is ineffectual outside his own sphere of influence unless his abilities are recognized by leaders of other groups, and developed and utilized in a common cause. In this manner a new and larger community based on such a community of interests comes into existence. More and more, common interests are recognized in an everwidening circle; an increase in good roads, and in bus and car transportation make it possible to bring into one group people widely dispersed geographically, and communication facilities make it possible to do this on short notice.

There are, of course, many interests jointly held in rural-area communities. Interests in agriculture, education, and health are examples. Such mutual interests tend to converge and revolve around a common denominator of all these. Agriculture for what purpose? Education for whom? Health for what group? The leader of the small community becomes a spokesman for his children, his family, his neighbors. Not agriculture in general,

but food for his family, cash for his needs, not education in general, but learning for his own children and for himself; not health in general, but for his own immediate community. Thus individual leadership in a given area develops into group leadership for a common purpose on which is brought to bear the total forces of the group, both internally and externally.

An example of effective group leadership is found in the county-wide committees of the Save the Children Federation, a nonsectarian organization. Belonging to these committees are those interested in the children of the county. The federation is interested not in any particular child or children, but in all children regardless of economic or social status. Members are drawn from leaders of small rural communities throughout the county, from professional groups usually in the county seat town, from representatives of men's and women's organizations, and from the church and the P.T.A. The consolidation of these separate forces, the development of this indigenous leadership, and its effective use are the responsibilities of the S C F. area director. Trained and experienced in working with rural communities, she brings to each committee only the tools with which to work, and the inspiration to use them when necessary. Tools consist of simple social studies made by the committee, and on which is based the determination of the needs of children in the county. Tools also consist of information regarding the available resources at the national, state, and local levels of advice regarding the resources of the S C F which are available, and the methods of utilizing such resources to secure maximum results. Complete responsibility for determining the Rural Child Service Program within the pattern of the National S C F is delegated to the S.C.F. County Committee where full recognition for work accomplished is accorded it.

This group leadership in counties operating S C F Rural Child Service Programs acts as a spokesman for the children in the

county and interprets their needs to those state and federal agencies, as well as to private organizations and lay groups, which can help to meet the needs. On the other hand, the group secures information concerning federal, state, and local programs operating for the benefit of children, and acts as an interpretative group on these to the entire county.

To summarize. Rural leadership is indigenous and democratic; it originates in small communities built around a common interest; it develops as the common interest widens into group leadership for communities of expanded size and interests. As a part of the group, the individual leader becomes an effective spokesman for his own group and an interpretative agent for other related programs.

Mrs. Chailey Tidd Cole is Director of the American Rural Child Service, Save the Children Federation

BOOK REVIEWS

Youth in Trouble, Studies in Delinquency and Despair, by
AUSTIN L. PORTERFIELD. Fort Worth, Texas: The Leo Potish-
man Foundation, 1946, 135 pages

The relationship between the delinquency of an individual and his status in the community is the problem of particular interest to this author. He notes that the child who gets into court is usually a friendless child who is without a respected place in the community. Porterfield has pointed out earlier that the complainants who prefer charges against children tend to be peevish and irresponsible individuals. He presents the results of a survey of college students indicating that the behavior of the students had at one time been as delinquent as the behavior of children who are called into court, yet the youth who reach college have rarely been in court.

Three illustrative case stories are presented emphasizing the struggle for status and for a feeling of belongingness. The author feels that the community as a whole is responsible for the criminal cultural patterns that exist within it, consequently any adequate prevention program must involve processes of community organization, starting with co-ordinating councils or area councils to integrate and enlarge existing programs.

There is a certain amount of duplication of material in different chapters, apparently due to the fact that some of the chapters were published earlier as separate articles. Despite the rather loose editing, however, the plea for the education of the community to the necessity for a broad co-ordinated program is very strong.

PAUL SHELDON

An Educational Odyssey, by HENRY NELSON SNYDER. New York:
Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1947, 272 pages.

Doctor Snyder was president of Wofford College at Spartanburg, South Carolina, from 1902 to 1942. His discussion of the roles played by this small church-related (Methodist) college and its president in the affairs of the state, and indeed the nation, makes interesting reading.

From the administrators' point of view, many topics are dealt with in

a challenging way. From the standpoint of what should be the function of the liberal-arts college in our society the author, by description rather than by preaching, gives the answer

Over and above these items, however, is a more basic consideration, namely, the advantage of the small school. Educators are beginning to understand that changes in attitudes and personality are best made by producing situations in which people are forced to change "conceptions of self."

In this respect, on the small college campus where contacts with faculty and other students are intimate, sympathetic, and warm, there is provided the situation *par excellence* for achieving such changes. Of course academic standards cannot be sacrificed by keeping the student body too small, but up to this point these small colleges are holding their own in the competition. This is because the larger schools have not been able to duplicate the benefits provided by the smaller colleges.

DAN W. DODSON

The Reduction of Intergroup Tension, by ROBIN M. WILLIAMS, JR.
New York: Social Science Research Council, 1947, 153 + xi pages.

This survey of research on problems of ethnic, racial, and religious-group-relations was financed by the Rockefeller Foundation and supervised by the Social Science Research Council under the direction of a committee composed of Charles Dollard, Carl I. Hovland, and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr.

The study attempts to appraise present programs, examine postulates upon which research is based, and suggest some possibilities for research. The last mentioned aspect of the study is perhaps the most important part of the book.

The most amazing part of the work is the section titled "Summary and Prospect." Here nine points summarize the study: (1) Intergroup tension . . . are persistent, widespread, and serious, (2) there is much organized activity . . . to reduce hostility, (3) working assumptions of action programs . . . have not been validated by research, (4) existing findings do not show completely the effects of communication and contact in changing intergroup attitudes; (5) there is an urgent need for more research; (6) hypotheses point to possibility of integrated

theory for explanation of intergroup relations; (7) some feasible research approaches are now being tested by research; (8) a wide range of topics is now available for research; and (9) practitioners show a growing interest in research which is relevant to action-needs

Perhaps it was time to elaborate the obvious, but one would expect that an organization such as the one sponsoring this study would have let some one else do it. As long as researches show only need for more research (no 3), action programs will have to move ahead without testing the assumptions which research hopes to validate. To assume that an integrated theory of intergroup relations will be unfolded by research soon is somewhat messianic in this reviewer's opinion. Much more piecemeal research will have to be done before such a pattern emerges

DAN W. DODSON

The Social Effects of Aviation, by WILLIAM FIELDING OGBURN, with the assistance of JEAN L. ADAMS and S. C. GILFILLAN. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946, 755 pages.

In educational circles during the last few years there has been considerable discussion concerning the social effects of aviation. Professor Ogburn has for the first time, to this reviewer's knowledge, sought to develop a definitive work on this subject. His chapters "On Predicting the Future," and "On Predicting the Social Effects of Invention," could be read with profit by all those interested in the subject. Part II is an excellent treatment of the uses of the airplane in nonmilitary activities, and includes both scheduled airline transportation and private flying. Part III, which comprises more than half of the book, treats well the social effects of aviation upon population, the family, cities, religion, health, recreation, crime, education, railroads, ocean shipping, manufacturing, marketing, mining, real estate, newspapers, agriculture, forestry, stock raising, government, public administration, international relations, and international policies. It is this reviewer's opinion that this book will have much effect upon the thinking of public-school teachers and sociologists both as they consider the development of the teaching of aviation in the public schools and the sociological problems which the development of aviation has brought to us

ROLAND H. SPAULDING

Holders of Doctorates Among American Negroes, by HARVEY WASHINGTON GREENE. Boston: Meader Publishing Company, 1946, 275 pages

Between 1876 and 1943 "at least" 381 persons of Negro descent received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, or some corresponding equivalent thereof. Professor Greene's volume analyzes the achievements and records of 368 of these scholars, their occupational status, research output, honors and awards, and membership in learned and other societies

The institutions which have conferred ten or more of these degrees are Chicago, Columbia, Pennsylvania, Cornell, Harvard, Ohio State, Michigan, New York, Iowa, Pittsburgh, Yale, Illinois, and Wisconsin. The five Negro undergraduate colleges that supplied the largest number of persons to receive doctorates were Howard, Lincoln (Pennsylvania), Fisk, Virginia, Union, and Morehouse. The degree holders were distributed over 37 academic fields, the largest number being in the social sciences.

IRA DE A. REID

Educational Guidance: Its Principles and Practice, by RUTH STRANG. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947, 268 pages

This book differs from other introductory textbooks on guidance in giving much more attention to the educational aspects of the guidance program. In addition to the topics ordinarily covered in guidance books, there is included additional material on the problems of college entrance, the transition from high school to college, and a large number of illustrative cases. Appendix D reports the "intellectual level of student bodies of colleges taking the American Council on Education psychological examination in 1934."

ROBERT HOPPOCK

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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EDITORIAL

I. Within the Family

From a financial point of view *THE JOURNAL* is having one of its most difficult years. Printing costs have pyramided until they have more than offset the increases in circulation. Nevertheless, *THE JOURNAL*'s usefulness as a medium in presenting the outstanding issues in teacher education is greater than at any time in the past. The popularity enjoyed by the September number, devoted to *Evaluation of Intercultural Education*, is an apt illustration of this fact. Our supply of extra copies is practically exhausted, and comments have come from many sources indicating the high degree of interest with which the material is being met by educators. It is obvious that Dr. Shapiro rendered a distinct service in bringing this material to the fore.

Many interruptions of plans have occurred during the season. We had planned that one number of the fall season would be devoted to *The Next Twenty-five Years in Teacher Training*, and that a second would be a *Study of the Twenty-five Year History of the School of Education of New York University*. Both numbers fell through. In the interim, the editor had made arrangements for the publication of papers which were presented at a

recent conference devoted to *Opening Doors to Learning*. However, the Board of Directors of the organization decided that some parts of the material presented should not be published. Consequently, we have been compelled to devote three numbers to general materials. This is more than we ordinarily plan, but fortunately we have had an unusually large number of articles submitted during the past year.

II. Reconstructing Nazi Wreckage

From a letter written to Dean Emeritus E. George Payne as editor and received this month, it is evident that the total job of reconstruction cannot be accomplished by the Marshall Plan. Dr Habil Ad. Geck, a contributor to *THE JOURNAL* in the early thirties, writes: "As an anti-Nazi, I had to leave the university career, and after some years of theological study I became a Catholic priest. Now, I am Rector of a hospital in the Rhinelands.

"Nevertheless, my interest in the problems of educational sociology has not diminished. Last week our German Sociological Society—that could not work in the Nazi time—after its reconstruction, founded a group for educational sociology.

"But, as I have been bombed out during the war, also my volumes of *THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY*—that I had gathered from the first number—have been burnt. So beginning is very difficult."

We would suggest to some reader having a file of back numbers, which he would be willing to donate, that likely it would be put to good use.

III. Postwar Educational Opportunity

The rapidly increasing enrollment in colleges and universities during the postwar era is creating continued problems. According to *The New York Times*, tuition costs have risen some 35 per cent—and still students come seeking knowledge. New York University will enroll some 60,000 students during the academic year.

Obviously, the rise in tuition costs has been countered, to a certain extent, by the rise in income; but Chancellor Chase, in his annual report to the New York University Council, states that approximately 75 per cent of the students are working to pay a part of their costs.

IV. Postwar Educational Opportunity

The State Commission created to study the need for a state university will soon make its report to the New York State Legislature. The findings will provide a basis in fact for the development of a comprehensive program of higher education—which should assist the state in its rise from a lowly position of twenty-second in attendance rank as of 1941—without serious detriment to existing colleges and universities. I represented the Mayor's Committee on Unity in the hearings held by the Commission recently. The major emphasis of the presentations was that there be established "Junior Colleges" or two-year "Community Colleges" to meet the emergency—from there on the suggestions varied from full-scale college campuses with upper-class professional and graduate work to arrangements with existing institutions for the remainder of the work to be done by them. Regardless of all else, it seems almost sure that the state will be asked to pledge its resources to provide educational opportunity for youths who at present cannot afford it in the private schools and colleges.

The other facet of the investigation relates to the alleged discrimination against youths of given minority backgrounds. In the last session of the legislature, the Austin-Mahoney bill to regulate admission practices was withdrawn after the Catholic group in the state took an official position against it. Whether a bill can be drawn that will be satisfactory remains to be seen. The reluctance to support a bill apparently stems more from "how it can be done" than from objections to the purpose of such a measure. Whatever else happens, this study bids fair to be the best survey of inequalities in higher education that has ever been done. Pro-

fessor Floyd Reeves has an exceptionally well-qualified staff and has undertaken an exhaustive study.

V. Human Relations

Beginning with the September session, New York University, in collaboration with the Bureau for Intercultural Education, established a Center for Human Relations. The staff consists primarily of Dr. H. H. Giles, director of the Bureau; Mr. Fred Wale, who came to the Center from the Rosenwald Fund; Professor Alice V. Keliher, of the department of elementary and early childhood education; Professors Ethel Alpenfels and Dan W. Dodson from the department of educational sociology—Professor Alpenfels' work lying in the field of anthropology, and Dr. Dodson's in the field of sociology and community relations; and Professor Theodore Brameld from the department of educational philosophy. In a secondary sense the entire faculty of the School of Education is at the disposal of the Center in consultative and other capacities.

The President's commission on civil rights has just issued its report entitled *To Secure These Rights*. The outstanding features of the statement, in addition to the excellent restatement of the American Ideal, are the proposals relating to the way in which machinery should be developed to implement the findings. Many states have excellent civil-rights laws, but the responsibility for their enforcement is placed upon an already overworked district attorney who is under the pressure of the biases of the community. The procedures indicated in the report are in large measure an endorsement of commissions set up by municipal and state governments and the F.E.P.C., which provided channels through which these problems could flow. One other aspect of the report which deserves commendation is that it is not a plea just for Negro and Jewish interests, but deals rather with the problem of protecting the civil rights of *all* groups.

Maryland is going through a reorganization of her higher educational facilities. Considerable pressure is being brought upon the state to allow Negroes and whites to be trained in the same professional schools. A Supreme Court ruling of a few years ago forced the admission of Negro students into the law school, but separate schools have been maintained in most other professional fields. A significant stride would be made if this breach in institutional lethargy could be made from the top.

VI. Liberalism and the "Cold War"

The "Cold War" with Russia has given the enemies of liberalism, as well as the "Red Baiters," a curtain behind which to hide in their fight. So far, however, the attacks have been fairly well restricted to groups other than the teaching group. This is surprising in light of the teacher strikes of last year. However, if education budgets continue to mount, it would not be surprising to see teaching undergo what the motion-picture industry is receiving now.

DAN W. DOBSON

A TECHNIQUE FOR IDENTIFYING "COMMUNITY PULL"

Karl L. Massanari

The problem of determining what area comprises the social and economic community is one that is prerequisite to a wide variety of community studies and programs. The rural and semirural population of the nation could once identify fairly easily the specific and local social cluster to which it belonged; but the sharply defined communities of previous years cannot be taken for granted today. Regular social contacts with the institutions, people, and services of one place are rarer phenomena than was once the case. The familiar pattern of the village center, adequately serving and being served by the people who lived close by, begins to seem a little obsolescent. Such centers serve only to a degree, only in part. One asks, more appropriately, now, "To what extent does a given social center serve the people who live nearby?" Or he asks, "What agencies in the center constitute the greatest pulling force in that direction?"

The concept of the community is, of course, the concept of a geographical area with a center, and with people who, to a significant degree, depend upon and participate in the functions of that center. Those things which are done in the name of the center—from the organization of a school to the establishment of a private business—are dependent upon a fairly clear picture of the degree to which the community "pulls" upon the population. Some formula of measurement, some technique to establish the nature and degree of this "pull" is a special need when the social flux and the ease of transportation make the selection of one's community an easy and selective affair, irrespective of one's actual change of residence.

With this thought the writer undertook to work out a technique for approaching this problem as it arose in connection with a community survey of Mahomet, Illinois, a small, rural com-

munity of approximately 900 inhabitants. The survey was made primarily for other purposes, and this report is confined only to the matter of surveying the extent of the community's central pull.

Determining "Community Pull"

A list of all the people living in the surrounding rural area was compiled. The task at hand was to find how much these people were influenced by the community center, Mahomet, defined in terms of various community activities. These community activities were listed and grouped as follows:

A. Religious

1. Membership in the Methodist church
2. Membership in the Baptist church
3. Membership in the Nazarene church

B. Educational

1. A member of the family attending high school
2. A member of the family attending grade school
3. A member of the family enrolled in the high-school veteran's classes
4. A member of the family enrolled in the high-school adult classes
5. A member of the family doing 4-H Club work

C. Professional services

1. A family served by the veterinarian
2. A family served by the funeral director
3. A family served by the dentist
4. A family served by the doctor

D. Subscribing to the local weekly paper

E. Social

1. A member of the family belonging to the American Legion
2. A member of the family belonging to the Farm Bureau
3. A member of the family belonging to the Home Bureau

- 4 A member of the family belonging to the Masonic Lodge
- 5 A member of the family belonging to the Eastern Star
- 6 A member of the family belonging to the Rebekah Lodge
- 7 A member of the family belonging to the Odd Fellows
- 8 A member of the family belonging to the Junior Woman's Club
- 9 A member of the family belonging to the Senior Woman's Club

F. *Economic*

- 1 Buying drugs
- 2 Buying feed
- 3 Buying groceries
- 4 Buying lumber and building supplies
- 5 Buying and selling grain
- 6 Buying gasoline and oil
- 7 Serviced by the plumber
- 8 Buying insurance
- 9 Telephone service
- 10 Buying cement cesspools
- 11 Serviced by the garage

It could not be assumed that all these activities exerted equal "community pull"; that is, a person who visited the dentist for an annual checkup would probably not feel as much a part of the community or be drawn as closely to it as one who had a child enrolled in school. Therefore if one is to determine how much "community pull" is exerted on the people or on any one family, it is necessary to know the relative "pull" exerted by each of the community activities. This information is not tangible; it can be secured only from the judgment of the people in that community. The technique in securing this judgment of the people is the primary consideration of this paper. It is impossible, or at least impractical, to get the opinions of all, so a representative jury of twenty persons was selected. Ten of these jurors directly represented the various activities of the community. Particular care was exercised so that no one community activity was over- or under-emphasized. The remaining ten jurors represented people who

were known to be active in community life.¹ Inactive members were not consulted because it was assumed that their judgment was less valuable.

The twenty jurors were all contacted in person and instructed about the purpose of the study. They were handed a form, AN EVALUATION OF "COMMUNITY PULL," the essence of which follows:

AN EVALUATION OF "COMMUNITY PULL"

Name of Juror Date.
Occupation of juror
Affiliations of juror

Consider carefully all the various community activities listed below in relation to their comparative amount of "community pull." How much does each activity draw the participant to the community? How much does it make him feel a part of the community? How much does it cause him to associate himself with the community? After reading the entire list as given in Column A, consider each activity separately and tell how much community pull each has by placing a check mark for each activity in the appropriately headed column below.

Column A Community Activity	Relative Amount of Community Pull				
	1 Top one-fifth	2 Next to highest one-fifth	3 Middle one-fifth	4 Next to lowest one-fifth	5 Bottom one-fifth
1 Membership in the Methodist church					
2 Membership in the Baptist church					
3 Membership in the Nazarene church					
4 A member of the family attending high school					
30 Buying insurance					
31 Telephone service					
32 Buying cement cesspools					
33 Served by the garage					

¹ This aspect was considered by another phase of the community survey.

Their job was to rate each community activity according to the relative amount of "community pull" it exerted. Five categories were provided as indicated in the form. The response was enthusiastic and in no instance were there any unchecked items.

The results were tabulated and a point value of 50 was arbitrarily assigned to those items checked in the top one-fifth group, 40 to those in the next-to-highest one-fifth group, 30 to the middle one-fifth, 20 to the next-to-lowest one-fifth, and 10 to the bottom one-fifth. This made possible a translation of the jurors' opinions to numerical data.

The judgments of those ten jurors who directly represented the community activities were considered separately from the remaining ten and later combined. The two groups agreed in most instances to a surprising degree. The jurors in both groups rated the schools and churches high. They also agreed on a number of activities which exerted the least "pull." The only significant difference in the two ratings was that the service of the doctor was rated much higher by the group of jurors representing active community members

Findings

The combined jury opinion on the relative amount of "community pull" of the various community activities follows:

<i>Point Value</i>	<i>Community Activity</i>
47	A member of the family attending grade school
47	A member of the family attending high school
46	Membership in the Methodist church
45	Membership in the Baptist church
41	Membership in the Nazarene church
40	Buying groceries
37	A member of the family doing 4-H Club work
37	Subscribing to the local weekly paper
37	Telephone service

- 36 A family served by the doctor
- 36 A member of the family belonging to the Junior Woman's Club
- 36 A member of the family belonging to the Senior Woman's Club
- 35 Buying and selling grain
- 34 A member of the family belonging to the Farm Bureau
- 33 A member of the family belonging to the Home Bureau
- 33 Buying gasoline and oil
- 32 Buying feed
- 31 A member of the family belonging to the Eastern Star
- 31 A member of the family enrolled in the high-school adult classes
- 31 Buying lumber and building supplies
- 30 A member of the family belonging to the Masonic Lodge
- 30 Buying drugs
- 30 Serviced by the plumber
- 29 A family served by the dentist
- 29 A member of the family belonging to the American Legion
- 29 A member of the family belonging to the Odd Fellows
- 29 Serviced by the garage
- 28 A member of the family belonging to the Rebekahs
- 28 Buying insurance
- 25 A family served by the funeral director
- 25 A member of the family enrolled in the high-school veteran's classes
- 23 A family served by the veterinarian
- 21 Buying cesspools
- Average ratings by groups of activities.
- 44 Religious
- 37.4 Educational
- 37 Newspaper
- 31.8 Social
- 31.5 Economic

The high rating given schools in such a study should challenge

educators to continue relentlessly the task of improving the educational program which is provided for the people in the communities of America.

Using the Data on "Community Pull" in the Survey

Each home in the study was represented by a community activity sheet which indicated the activities in which it participated. The numerical data found above were assigned to the appropriate activities and a "family index of community pull" was thus available by summation. The total was later divided by ten in order to facilitate the use of the index number on the map.

This "family index of community pull" was transferred to a large master map on which each home was represented by a small white circle. The number was recorded in the circle. The overall picture of "community pull" was more easily visualized when a line was drawn from each home to the community center for every ten points in the index number. This made available a map showing where and how far out the influence of the community center extended, and gave some indication about what area comprised the social and economic community.

Karl L. Massarani is an Assistant in the Bureau of Research and Service in the College of Education, University of Illinois

SOME RECENT RESEARCHES IN HELPING TEACHERS TO UNDERSTAND CHILDREN¹

Louis Rath

Is it possible for teachers to change their habits of working with children so as to improve significantly human relationships in schools? Dr Prescott has just told us of his faith that this can be done: in support of Dr Prescott's optimistic outlook I want to share with you the results of some recent researches in this field.²

The series of studies to which I will refer had their beginning in 1943 when Professor Alberta Young of the University of Tennessee began to explore the possibilities of developing some new curriculum materials. The primary object of these new materials would be to help the faculties of teacher-training institutions prepare young people in the understanding of human relationships in classrooms. Professor Young explored practices then current and came to the conclusion that what was needed was a new organization of materials with greater challenge, and which would provide a more intense stimulus for pre-service teachers who want to know more about effective ways of working with children. In her search for vital source materials, Professor Young saw that much of the written materials was either beyond the experience of young prospective teachers or inadequate in its capacity to motivate deeper inquiry.

It was fortunate for Dr Young that some very significant and useful work had been done by Professor Alice Keliher and her staff, the Commission on Human Relations of the Progressive Education Association. Dr. Keliher and her colleagues working in the eight-year study carried through a film program which resulted in the production of a large number of excerpts from Hollywood films. Projected on a screen were problems in human relations, situations which were charged emotionally and that encouraged listeners and observers to discuss the human problems.

¹ This article was originally an address delivered at a conference conducted by the Carolyn Zachry Institute, with the theme *Opening Doors to Learning*.

² Dr Daniel Prescott had just preceded Dr Rath as a speaker.

presented and the human reactions displayed in the scenes. This work became the cornerstone upon which Professor Young based her resource unit on human relationships for use in teacher-education institutions.

The primary object of Dr. Young's inquiry was to discover what would happen to the social adjustment of children, to their learning of subject matter, and to the development of skills and thinking. She had to postpone experimentation because of the absence of significant curriculum materials required for the education of teachers. The first job, as she saw it, was the development of curriculum materials; and for the better part of two years she worked on the construction of her resource unit. Professor Young accepted a definition of learning that was formulated by Dollard: the learner is a person who wants something; the learner is a person who notices something; the learner is a person who does something, and the learner is a person who gets something. Dr. Young realized that if teachers were to further learning, they would have to work hard on each of these four elements. She realized, also, that many times there are difficulties in learning, and that a constant emphasis put on these four points alone might indeed result in a failure to learn. Dr. Young worked on the idea that frustration of human needs is a serious block to learning; that conflicts in values, insensitivity to human relations, lack of skill in problem solution, and deeply seated emotional needs were interwoven. It was her belief that all of these should constitute the core for the training of teachers in the area of human relations.

Applying these ideas Dr. Young made an intensive study of the human-relations films. She analyzed them for problems that were involved in them, and for the behavior of the characters. In an attempt to hypothesize some of the emotional needs which were being satisfied or frustrated, Professor Young studied the films to identify some of the social values that seemed to be in conflict. After preparing a written report of each film concerning

these points, Professor Young summarized the analysis so that a reader might see the unity and central ideas of her work. This written summary was followed by recommendations to teachers for further reading, and included references to theory and research, which might illuminate the idea. Each *précis* also contained a list of suggestions for supplementary activities which, it was hoped, might result in richer experiences for prospective teachers in the area of human relations. When this work was completed it became possible to carry on an experiment to test whether or not teachers would be helped considerably by studying the films in the ways suggested by Professor Young: by doing the readings, participating in some of the suggested activities, listening to the recordings that were recommended, and otherwise carrying out the spirit of the unit which concentrated upon human needs.

The work of experimenting was carried forward by Professor Anna Carol Fults of the Arkansas State Teachers College, at Conway, Arkansas. It was possible for her to arrange a comparison group study in some communities near the college. The teachers of three groups of junior-high-school students worked with Professor Fults in an intensive study of the children in other classrooms. Certain children were identified as social rejects who had difficulty in learning the subject matter of home economics. In three other supposedly comparison groups a similar identification process was carried on, but here the teachers did not go through the process of studying the resource unit. The investigation was carried on over a period of four and a half months. At the beginning and end of the study evidence was gathered relating to the social acceptability of children, to reading, and to intelligence as measured by test scores in the three experimental classrooms. The experiment had one singular disadvantage the teachers in the experimental groups were decidedly above average in their insight into human nature before the experiment began. They had had

advanced training, and had worked with Professor Fults for some time previously. It was argued that if teachers, with this more-or-less adequate background, were to improve noticeably in their classroom relationships, it might be reasonable to infer that, in further experiments, teachers who have had much less exposure to these ideas would also gain significantly. The test results reported by Professor Fults show gains that are statistically significant at the 1 per cent level, so far as changes which occurred in the students who had been identified as rejects and difficulty-in-learning cases. This work is being published very shortly by the Arkansas State Teachers College and will be available for teachers interested in the study. The identified "misfits" and difficulty-in-learning cases improved their scores notably on the reading test, on the intelligence test, and on the social acceptance test. Equally significant was the fact that those teachers who had participated in the study of the resource unit made changes in their teaching which were consistent with increased understanding of children.

In one sense, Professor Fults' study seemed to prove too much. That these teachers should have brought about such conspicuous changes in the children in a very short interval of time, and that other teachers over the same interval had not brought about extraordinary changes, was established by the data collected. The question remained, however, whether or not this change was largely due to the selection of teachers rather than due to a study of the children and the resource unit. At this point Miss Kathryn Feyereisen, who had been a teacher in the elementary schools of Des Moines, Iowa, indicated a desire to try out the resource unit with some teachers of Grades III, IV, and V, in the public schools of Des Moines. With the co-operation of very sympathetic administrative and teaching staffs Miss Feyereisen carried forward an investigation and an in-service program of selected-teacher training with an emphasis upon the understanding of children. In this project comparison groups were again identified. Tests relating to

reading, to intelligence, to social acceptability, and to emotional needs were administered. In addition, in Des Moines, arithmetic tests were given to these experimental and comparison groups. The study was completed in June and, in a personal communication, Miss Feyereisen reported that the experimental groups showed gains at the 1 per cent level in all of the factors tested. Taken as an entire group, the gains in the so-called comparison groups were not significant. It should be pointed out that both in the Arkansas and Des Moines situations not one single teacher carried on a program of remedial reading or of remedial arithmetic during the time that the study was in process. The gains seemed to come about from the improvement in the human relations between pupils and teachers and among students.

The reports of two investigations which utilized Professor Young's resource materials do not prove that all other teachers going through the same procedures would produce the same significant results. These two investigations do, however, suggest the wisdom of a much wider extension of the use of these materials for further testing. In the process of use, modifications will probably be forthcoming. The studies indicate a substantial backing to Professor Prescott's assertion that teachers, through appropriate study, can make great headway in the understanding of children, their needs, their values, their problems, and their abilities to think and plan independently.

Before closing this account of studies relating to the in-service training of teachers, I should like to mention an investigation recently conducted by Professor Ida Ruth McLendon of the University of Florida at Tallahassee. Miss McLendon explored a large number of problems associated with the social acceptance of children. She conducted her study in the public-school system of Hamilton, Ohio, and made use of the Ohio social acceptance scale. Miss McLendon developed a plan whereby the teachers attempted to identify the social class status of the children in their class-

rooms. The discussions of the various social class levels prepared by Miss McLendon and given to the teachers as a basis for rating were derived from Warner's and Lunt's book, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*. When teachers felt that they were unable to identify the social class status of a student they refrained from doing so.

When Miss McLendon compared the social class status of children with scores made on intelligence tests, reading tests, and social acceptance tests, there was a high interrelation. In fact the average score on intelligence tests of the upper-class children was the highest average; the average score of the middle-class children was the next highest average; the average score of the lower-class children was the lowest average. When the individuals in the lower class were divided into two groups of upper-lower and a lower-lower, the average scores in the factors measured yielded to the same trend. Miss McLendon infers that this hypothesis, which was developed but not tested in her study, may prove a fruitful one for further inquiry. Is it possible that social class status consistently influences the achievements of children—in ordinary school subjects, in intelligence test results, and in the making of friendships? Is it possible that social class discriminations might prove to be a cause of this very inability to achieve best results? The work of Miss Fults and of Miss Feyerisen (who is now a Professor of Education at Wayne University in Detroit) seems to be inconsistent with this hypothesis. But this may be more apparent than actual. It may well be that this correlation of social class with achievement is revealed when no conscious effort is made to further good human relationships among children and between children and teachers. It may be that an intense study related to the understanding of children might result in a significant contribution to American social living in the schools, and that, as a consequence, our society would become more of an open-class system than it is now.

These studies have been reported here because of their relationship to the understanding of children, and because of their support for the idea that teachers may further learning and good social relations among children. This listing of researches done is by no means complete; however, these studies are indeed stimulating contributions to efforts to bring about desirable changes in our public-school classrooms.

Dr. Louis E. Raths is Professor of Education at New York University and Director of Research at the Center of Research and Evaluation

WHAT IS RIGHT IN AMERICAN EDUCATION?

(Editor's Note: The following letter from an engineer, working with the state department in one of the less literate countries, is so well turned that we are publishing it as an article. The name of the author had to be withheld for obvious reasons)

The Editor,
Journal of Educational Sociology,
Payne Educational Sociological Foundation, Inc ,
32 Washington Place,
New York, N. Y.

Sir:

Reading part of your issue of the Journal of February 1947 and perusing the rest, I note with interest that most of the articles emphasize the "sour note" in our American system of education. I further note with great interest and to a later point that most of the writers are members of the order of Professional Pedagogues, which is to be rightly expected in such a Journal as your own

I am constrained to say that an article by some one on the subject, "What Is Right about the Education System in the United States," wrong as the whole system may be, is in order. I think one of the most constructively critical articles of recent times was Norman Thomas' article "What's Right with America " No doubt you have read that dissertation.

The writer has been in all phases of Civil Engineering: teaching in a Major University, construction as Engineer and as contractors' representative, surveying, a Naval Officer in wartime construction and is now a Consulting Engineer to a project sponsored by the United States, specifically to determine what can be done through transportation, sanitation, water supply provision, drainage projects, and other physical matters, to spur the development of a country which has essentially no education system.

Sitting in my office today, I can see plenty that is right about the American educational system. In the first place we have one, in the second, with but few exceptions and glaring ones, schools are available to everyone. Then, too, most of the people have been taught to read and write at least and if anyone wishes to deny that that is good, let him try to live and work where 99 per cent of the people cannot read or write. Ideas have been disseminated and ideals, even though one would call them platitudes, have been inculcated which have made the average American more or less stable of mind and character. The basic and fundamental rights and sanctity of individuals and their property are more observed in the United States than anywhere else in the world.

Over a period of years, we in America have allowed the teaching of the theory of all the "isms" of the world in our educational system and though some would deny the ability to do this by condemnation of the heads of the schools, by withdrawing public funds from such schools and by other subterfuges or if not able to control education by these means to withdraw their children to the parochial schools or other private schools where they may be sheltered from truth, but thank all the powers that be such critics have yet to control education and the public school persists.

The seal of one great University, breaking away from the "intellectual" habit of dressing education up in strained Latin prefixes and suffixes, states in plain language "LET THERE BE LIGHT" and that it should be and for my part is the theme of American Education despite its critics, I mean public education!

Blaming juvenile delinquency on the schools or supposing that the disillusionment of returning veterans is the result of past schooling or is being heightened by the present schools to which they have the opportunity to go is rubbish. Are there less juvenile delinquents in a country where there is no education or where there are controlled schools? Are private property and human rights more sacred where there is no school system? In the civiliza-

tion which has grown up in Africa it is perfectly proper to take something I have because the taker does not have that thing. The world over those who have privilege prey on the other part of society, but did minorities of America ever face in education or any other matter such planned discrimination as do the people of this country or as they did in Europe during the late war?

Well, I think the American education system is good, and may I ask the professional pedagogues what they have done to correct the situation and what they are doing to correct the schools by always talking about the negative side?

My Father, still living in California, has often said to me, "Lad, when a man gets out of sorts with his fellows, or condemns the church or the schools or whatever, you had better look for the trouble in the man rather than in the fellows, the church or the social order." Who says the American education system is bad, and responsible for all of our ills, even though it may need some overhauling? I think returning servicemen do, in the main, feel that they are above the proven substantial moral truths because they have become men overnight, but I think that the most better swallow their pride and start in at the bottom and at least go through the motions which experience has shown to be useful. I am an embattled veteran too!

The schools may be dealing in some unrealities, and perchance are not too practical in many things, but the world needs, I believe, to have more of the credulity of the fairy story age and the faith that has marked strong men and nations since the beginning of time. Let us hold the hands of the public school high and contribute to her value by having our Professors live a bit of life themselves in order to have them able to impart some sound advice based upon experience, not theory, as important as that is.

As I look over the world, I know more and more why there are a preponderance of things right about our United States of America, her schools, her people and their ideals.

THE READING INTERESTS OF CHILDREN AND THE SCHOOL

R. Grann and Hortense D. Lloyd

With certain safeguards, society delegates to the school the major responsibility for stimulating and guiding the growth of its children. Reading has assumed a place of first importance in modern American life. Hence a major question is, "What is the influence of the school on the reading habits of school children?"

The findings of an overwhelming majority of the studies made show that the proportion of children who read books of their own accord increases rapidly in the primary and middle grades, and nears one hundred per cent in the junior high school. It is significant to note, however, that two tendencies are observed among senior-high-school pupils. In some schools wide reading continues among practically all pupils. In other schools the proportion of pupils who read decreases; the average lessening in the amount read having been attributed to distractions, to the increasing demands made on the time of young people as they grow older, and to the greater prominence of other interests.

In working with older children who have difficulty in reading we have encountered a twofold problem: (1) enlisting the pupil's desire to read, and (2) finding suitable materials. A frontal attack on reading problems has always been met with resistance engendered by unpleasant experiences in the pupil's past. Therefore, we have been forced to find more subtle methods of making reading of value to the children. The most effective method found thus far has been the provision of the driving force of a sustaining interest which is basic to any program of reading improvement. This has been accomplished by creating a need for reading, first by discovering the genuine interests of the pupils, and then by supplying simple materials relating to those interests.

Most investigations show that nearly all children above the third grade read newspapers and, to a lesser extent, magazines. The

proportion of pupils reading them increases steadily throughout the elementary-school age, reaching a high level during the junior-high-school period. Newspaper reading continues to be a universal practice throughout the high-school period, although there is a slight decrease in some schools in the amount of magazine reading. These facts indicate that the high-school years form a critical period with respect to the reading habits of many young people

Studies concerning the kinds of books, magazines, and other materials that children like to read do not agree and are not conclusive. However, they do reveal several significant facts about children's interests: (1) children's preferences in reading vary widely at each age and grade level. This is a contradiction of the earlier prevailing view that all children in each grade are interested in, and should read to an appreciable extent, the same kind of books. (2) Children read more fiction than anything else, and like it better. It is not without significance that many pupils lose interest in reading about the age when interest in juvenile fiction declines. It would seem to indicate that the home, the school, and the libraries fail to encourage the development of new reading interests to replace the older ones based on children's fiction.

Since it has been shown that boys and girls will read with keen interest informational material that is well written for children, it is unfortunate that (3) children fail, at present, to read widely such informational books. It seems fair to assume that older pupils do not read informational materials because their interests in the problems discussed have not been thoroughly aroused. (4) Children prefer prose to poetry. This dislike for poetry is attributed to the methods used in teaching it in the schools.

By the age of fifteen the reading habits of boys and girls are more or less definitely formed. Available data indicate that boys express a preference for newspapers and current events, which they read for accounts of sports and for material relating to topics

of individual interest in the field of vocational activities. In common with girls, boys read a great deal of fiction, much of which is sensational or which portrays impossible situations. Girls also read poetry, humor, and biography. Since few girls' magazines are published, they usually turn to adult magazines. Of these women's magazines make the strongest appeal, followed closely by all-fiction magazines.

Pupils read a wide variety of magazines and newspapers; however, they report that the parts liked best are comics, stories, sports, pictures, and serious parts. Few school children read editorials, however, most of them like the cartoons, scandal, advertisements, poems, and columns. This seems to support the contention that pupils are progressing through school without forming a keen interest in reading those sections of newspapers and magazines which deal with problems of major significance. Consequently, it is apparent that the school (at all levels) is confronted with the decisive and imperative challenge to stimulate and direct valuable habits of book, newspaper, and magazine reading among its pupils.

Literature relating to the purposes of reading both in and out of school shows that elementary-school pupils read for, at least, the following purposes: to satisfy interest and curiosity; for fun; to extend their range of information; to secure specific facts; to secure rest and relaxation,¹ and for direction and safety. As pupils advance through the grades, the motives for reading become much more numerous and specific. However, teachers should stimulate children to read the better class of contemporary literature. In this respect the schools are failing to measure up to the current objectives of education. Are not the school's attempts to train for citizenship, for worthy home membership, for development of character, and for worthy use of leisure time likely to be

¹ We have often been amazed at the truly therapeutic value reading held for our pupils. The demands of the activity program (in the New York City schools) put heavy pressure on pupils. Mentally, emotionally, and physically weary, our pupils frequently turned to reading for release from strain.

of little worth if they fail to develop in the individual high ideals, worthy interests, and wholesome habits?

Much of the difficulty seems attributable to the fact that teachers and librarians are, with few exceptions, devoting most of their efforts to stimulating people to read and very little to guiding and redirecting their reading tastes. The task of elevating reading tastes is more urgent and more difficult. The classroom teacher should stimulate children to read the better type of literature, and the librarian should supplement that effort. But where the classroom teacher fails, the librarian's task is to initiate, stimulate, and direct the reading of the children. Where both fail society always suffers. It is of greatest importance that more schools give children access to fresh, interesting, well-written, and appealingly illustrated materials to serve the varied purposes that stimulate them to read. How else can we make real readers of our children, improve their reading, and expect them to continue to read voluntarily after their school days?

Investigations have shown that the reading proclivities of children (and adults) vary widely in different communities. Studies of the causes of differences in reading proclivities show a close relationship between the amount read and such factors as general intelligence of the citizens of a community, the extent of literacy, the efficiency of the school program, the accessibility of library materials, and the amount of productivity of the community as measured by the agricultural and manufactured goods produced. It is of significance that the effectiveness of the school's training and the accessibility of library materials rank high among the conditioning factors. It indicates that communities that now rank low in reading habits may do much to improve conditions both for their children and themselves by. (1) providing good schools that will develop habits of intelligent reading and cultivate strong motives for permanent interests in reading, and (2) providing adequate library facilities which will enable young people (and

adults) to continue to read for various purposes after they leave school

The school must recognize that today it faces two problems in cultivating desirable reading habits. One is to improve the reading habits of the present generation of adults, the other, to develop reading interests and habits among children today² that will ensure a generation of intelligent and discriminating readers tomorrow. From the point of view of those interested in adult education, the first of these problems seems more immediate and urgent. The second problem, however, is more fundamental and must be solved effectively now if an increasing proportion of adults in the future is to have elevated tastes and desirable reading habits.

² We are currently analyzing available materials to determine the sociopsychological influences on children which encourage them to read or not to read. Although the analysis is incomplete, it has been discovered that the motivation varies with the social situation: (1) a socially well-adjusted child will tend to read what, and if, his contemporaries do, (2) for a socially maladjusted child, reading often represents a fantasy life and withdrawal from a difficult social situation.

R. Grann and Hortense D. Lloyd are former instructors in the public-school system of New York City and Wiley College. Dr. Lloyd is Professor of Social Studies at Elizabeth City State Teachers College, Elizabeth City, North Carolina.

INTERGROUP RELATIONS AT COSMOPOLITAN JUNIOR HIGH

Travis H. Taylor

Modern man faces vast conflicting developments tending to make human existence in the years ahead wonderful or horrible. Eventual outcome of this battle between historic forces for good and evil will depend upon the relative success of efforts to project elements of sound social philosophy into practical social reality. Integral to the widespread ignorance and misunderstanding at the base of this broad problem confronting man is the current configuration of intergroup tensions; tensions which threaten, through potential social, political, and economic disintegration, basic values of our civilization, including not only aspects of free, democratic education, but the very existence of such education itself.

Increasingly, school people are realizing that they must make vigorous educational attacks on the ominously threatening realities of intergroupal relations. To be effective, each such attack must be based on thorough social analysis of each local situation. There follows a brief report of a recent effort, in which the writer was involved, to determine intergroupal status in a certain school and neighborhood. Since the survey did not require expensive or complicated procedure, others attempting to deal with intergroupal relations in educational, or other, situations may be interested in the nature of the relatively simple steps taken and of the findings achieved.

For purposes of the report, the school referred to will be called "Cosmopolitan junior high"; the city will be called "Plains City."

Cosmopolitan junior high is in one of the poorest areas of Plains City. The school population, over 1,500 seventh, eighth, and ninth graders, is made up of Spanish-American children (25%), Negro children (17%), Japanese-American children (8%), and "Anglo" children (50%).

The instrument used in the investigation was a questionnaire developed with the help of the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Denver. Through the co-operation of the departments of anthropology and sociology at the same university D. U. students were given class credit for door-to-door interviewing in selected sections of the Spanish, Negro, Japanese, and "Anglo" neighborhoods near Cosmopolitan. Three hundred and eighty adult responses were thus secured. In the school itself, approximately fifty children were selected at random from each of the four groups and interviewed by the writer. Responses to the questionnaire were also secured from the sixty-two members of Cosmopolitan's faculty. While interviewing technique was admittedly not above technical reproach, findings were secured which have seemed significant to Don Cahalan of the National Opinion Research Center, and to John T. Robinson and Herbert Walther of the American Council on Education's Intergroup Study in co-operating schools.

Eleven questions were used in the interview in the order indicated:

1. Do you think that all kinds of children are (or are not) getting the right kind of training in school?
2. What changes do you think should be made in the schools?
3. Do you think that all kinds of people in Plains City do (or do not) have the same chance to get a good education?
(Those who replied "do not" were asked, "What kinds of people do not have the same chance as others to get a good education?")
4. When a child has trouble in school, do you think it is usually the fault of the teacher, the child, the parents, or the neighborhood?
5. Do you think that all kinds of people in Plains City do (or do not) have the same chance to get a good job?
(Those who replied "do not" were asked, "What kinds of people do not have the same chance as others to get a good job?")
6. Do you think that all kinds of people in Plains City do (or do not) have the same chance to live in a decent place?
(Those who replied "do not" were asked, "What kinds of people do not have the same chance as others to live in a decent place?")

7 Do you think that all kinds of people in Plains City should (or should not) be permitted to live where they want to live?

(Those replying "should not" were asked, "What kinds of people should not be permitted to live where they want to live?")

8. Do you think that all kinds of children are (or are not) treated equally well in school?

(Those replying "are not" were asked, "What kinds of children are not treated equally well?")

9. Do you think that all kinds of people should (or should not) have the same chance to have a good job?

(Those replying "should not" were asked, "What kinds of people should not have the same chance as others to have a good job?")

10. Do you think the children of all the different racial groups in this part of town do (or do not) get along well together in school?

(Those replying "do not" were asked, "Which group or groups are causing the trouble?" and, "What do they do that causes bad feeling?")

11. Do you think the school should do anything to help the children of all the different racial groups to get along better with each other?

(Those replying affirmatively were asked, "What should the schools do?")

The full report of the study includes sixteen tables and many pages of analysis. Only general summary can be included here

Adults were much more critical of school training than were children. Substantial desire was evidenced in each child group for more learning, more individualized attention from teachers, and stricter school rules—manifestation apparently of deep-seated child need for order, hope, and social and psychological security. The relatively large size of the school population may be significant at this point. Seventy-seven per cent of the teacher group rated school training unsatisfactory, the main teacher suggestion for school improvement calling, as did many children, for more individualization of teaching. No significant intergroup differences appeared here.

Although the percentages of adults who offered suggestions

for school improvement corresponded closely with the percentages of adults who were critical of school training, comparative child percentages were as three to one; *i.e.*, three times as many children in each child group made fundamental suggestions for school improvement compared with the number of children declaring school training unsatisfactory. It would seem from this that children might need much more experience with free thought and free speech, so that feelings now expressed only by indirection can find the direct and democratic sort of outlet manifested more consistently among adults. Again no significant intergroup differences were noted at this point.

In contrast to general majority belief manifested in the existence of equality of educational opportunity, there was majority belief that inequality is the rule relative to housing and job opportunities. Children who believed that opportunities are not equal tended usually to attribute cause to poverty or lack of education; minority adults who denied existence of equal opportunities tended to attribute cause to race, and tended to feel that their own race had the hardest going. Many minority adults and some minority children told stories of specific cases of discrimination to lend credence to more critical and racially conscious responses.

While adults and teachers tended to be less satisfied than children with school training, children were much more dissatisfied with the quality of pupil intergroup relations than was any adult group. "Anglo" children and Spanish children were most critical among the children of pupil intergroup relations. The Spanish group is the poorest of the four Plains City groups living in the Cosmopolitan junior high district.

Teachers and children felt overwhelmingly that pupils are treated equally well in school. Adults were less convinced, about half of "Anglo" and Negro adults indicating doubt on the point.

With reference to the question concerning blame for pupil maladjustment, children blamed children in the main, adults tended

to blame parents. Teachers showed much more understanding of the multiple causation involved in maladjustment by tending to blame all factors; parents, neighborhoods, and children received more blame, however—in that order—than did teachers. Both Spanish groups stressed parental responsibility markedly less than did other groups.

Spanish responses, both adult and child, showed consistently less dissatisfaction than expressed by other groups, despite the fact that the Spanish are the poorest and generally the worst off of Plains City citizens. Poverty, and possible cultural factors, have been pointed to in discussions of this outcome. Some have suggested connection between this lack of critical feeling and majority Spanish affiliation with the authoritarian Catholic church.

All four groups indicated overwhelming majority belief that there should be equality of work opportunity and that the school should help improve intergroup relations. Interesting agreement with Myrdal's interpretation of the "American Dilemma" is seen.

In contrast to the relatively apathetic Spanish response, the Negro pattern consistently showed more critical feelings and beliefs and more concern over intergroup relations than were manifested by any other group.

The strong Japanese family system is still characteristic of the Japanese in Plains City. Japanese children manifested the same relatively secure and hopeful outlook in the study which they consistently manifest in Cosmopolitan junior high. Japanese adults indicated more than any other adult group a concern relative to housing and to neighborhood influences on children; a reflection, probably, of the "engulfing" of the small and scattered Japanese population in the large, poverty-stricken Spanish area of Plains City.

Minorities overwhelmingly opposed housing segregation; two out of five "Anglo" children, half of the "Anglo" adults, only one out of five teachers, favored the practice.

Intergroup antagonism was directed mainly at the poverty-stricken Spanish group, secondly at the better-off Negro group. Some members of all groups were willing to accept partial group responsibility for intergroup troubles, a constructive tendency more noticeable in the study among children than among adults.

WE THE STUDENTS OF PUBLIC SCHOOL 233—

Marion V. Brown

(Editor's Note: Good human relations are dependent upon good teaching and good administration. How school administration can become a part of the educational process itself is so well shown in this description that the editors deemed it worthy of study by our readers.)

January, 1947

Needed: one constitution for the General Organization of an elementary school.

June, 1947

Adopted: a constitution for the General Organization of Public School 233, Brooklyn.

——— and in between lies one semester of social studies, literature, composition, museum visits, assembly programs, current events, arguments, compromises, and the united efforts of 31 twelve-year-old children, the intellectually gifted children class of P. S. 233.

To understand why this particular class undertook the job at the time we must go back a little way in the history of both school and class, and must also consider what is happening in the world in which these children are now living and may someday lead.

Why

The school had acquired a new principal in February, 1946. By September it had acquired a general organization with officers and representatives, but there was still need of a constitution.

The school also had a problem in its guard system. The guards are divided into several squads. Safety guards stand at street crossings and supply that ounce of prevention by seeing that the other children obey traffic laws. The cleanup squad keeps the school grounds free from litter. The yard and stair guards take care of arrivals and dismissals. The fire guards open exits and discourage would-be stragglers.

Wherever there are rules there are usually people who break them. Children are people, and rules were occasionally broken. When infringements occurred the outcome of the then-existing machinery was a "guard slip" sent to the culprit's official teacher. Except in those very rare cases where physical injury necessitated an accident report, or where repeated offenses were called to the attention of the principal, punitive measures were left entirely to the official teacher's discretion. Naturally there were variations.

So there existed a need for a constitution and, even more pressing, for a uniform system of school regulations and punishments.

Who

The class is a group of intellectually gifted children. Their I.Q.'s range from 152 to 105. The few at the bottom are there because, in a large city school system, there are such things as registers and budgets.

Half these children had been I.G.'s for two and a half years. All but four had had one semester with their present teacher. They were capable of doing a task that would require superior mental ability, and they were accustomed to working together.

Why Again

The more powerful nations of the world are now engaged in a trial-and-error attempt at world government. They face grave and confusing problems. Whichever of these problems are not solved will be the inheritance that today's school children will receive from today's adults.

The sooner and the better those children know what it means to establish a government, to govern, and to be governed, the more likely it is that they will devise and accept the solutions to these world problems.

There have been times when not only the lack of recognition of common human needs but also the seeming inability of governing bodies to plan wisely has cast doubt upon the thinking abil-

ity of the governing bodies. If any segment of today's school children should be encouraged to understand and later to participate in government, it is that segment which possesses the greatest mental ability.

Considering this, I offered to suggest to my class (IGC7) that, since the school needed a constitution, they try to write one. From my point of view this topic had another advantage; the 7B course of study includes American history from the French and Indian War to the end of the federal period.

The first school day of the February term I asked the class how they would like to try to write a constitution as their unit. They thought "it would be a tough one" but they "would like to try it" "just to see if they could do it." And so it started.

Planning How

The first real step was a class discussion. With very little originality someone suggested that the school constitution be modeled after the Constitution of the United States. Everyone approved. And then the children realized that they did not know very much about the Constitution of the United States: the circumstances under which it was written, what specific difficulties it had set out to solve, or its internal structure. The next thing was, "Let's find out. Let's suspend writing anything until we know what we're doing."

This changed the discussion to planning how to study the Constitution of the United States. These children have a tendency to trace things to their beginnings. They blocked out a long-term plan that they thought should prepare them to formulate the constitution their school needed.

They planned to:

1. trace self-government in England, beginning with the Magna Charta;
2. discover what factors in the colonies' resources and geographical position, or in the colonists' political, philosophical, or religious

- backgrounds, or in their economic situations, tended toward self-government;
3. study the type of government in each of the thirteen colonies as to the amount of representation, their systems of election, their nominal and actual powers;
 4. find out why and how the colonies separated themselves from England;
 5. examine the postwar situation after the American Revolution;
 6. study the Constitution of the United States, clause by clause, to determine why each section was included and how it has affected subsequent history;
 7. write the school constitution.

Doing

The class started to carry out its plan the second week in February. They worked in committees of from two to five children. Although this part of the preparation was done principally during social-studies periods, there were several times when other lessons were used. In literature they read Patrick Henry's speech to the Virginia House of Burgesses. In art, some of them made colonial silhouettes. During one assembly period the principal told the other seven upper-grade classes that I.G.C. was writing a constitution and would welcome suggestions.

By March 14 the class had reached point five of their plan—the postwar situation after the American Revolution. In this they worked as one group. Then they made a detailed study of the Constitution. By April 14 they were ready to begin their school's constitution.

They had done so much preliminary work that the actual writing took only two weeks. First they listed their problems, some of which were:

1. When shall elections be held?
2. What shall be the qualifications for officers?
3. Who may vote?
4. What happens if an officer moves away?

- 5 Who may become a guard?
- 6 What if a guard says a child did something and the child says he did not?
- 7 Who shall make laws for the school?
8. Who shall decide how G O money shall be spent?

There were nearly forty items—a formidable array. They took a deep breath and began on the preamble. Everyone wrote one. All were read and the class voted for the one they liked best. At the end of two days they had a preamble and a list of problems. They had also the vision of the 6th of May approaching. May 6 was the date on which I.G.C. was scheduled to present a program to the seventh- and eighth-year assembly. Because it is customary for assembly programs to reflect the work of the classroom, the children wanted to present the finished constitution. But this time problem was something they could face directly. They grouped their listed problems under three headings:

1. executive department—officers and elections;
2. legislative department—student council;
3. judicial department—student court;

and by lot divided themselves into three committees. The committees went to work as if the fate of the universe hung on their decisions. The best of friends argued and compromised and argued again. At the end of the first period they were marveling that the men who wrote the Constitution had taken only four months to do it. A greater wonder was how Congress reaches agreements and pleases as many people as it does. And greater still was the wonder how if they who are friends, with common aims and small problems, disagree, how the United Nations, with its old mistrusts, and greater problems, does as well as it does.

They worked during English periods as well as during social-studies periods. They worked in each others' homes over the week end. On April 17 the committee on the student council

handed in its report. The class discussed it, praised it, attacked it. The committee explained and defended its work and made changes when its explanations and defenses were not equal to adverse criticism. It was obvious to the teacher that the class had the same philosophy about creating a government as the man who presided over the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787—that the members of the convention should not, in order to please the people, devise a government which they themselves would not approve.

The class visited the Museum of the City of New York for a lecture on the federal period.

By May 1 the tentative constitution was ready to be presented to the school. On May 6 it was presented to the seventh- and eighth-year assembly and on the next day to the fifth and sixth. Each section was read by a member of the I.G.C. class. The children in the assembly were permitted to ask questions and make comments. This was the public exercising its right of free speech. The I.G.'s found several places where there were flaws in their work and also found that some of the public has nebulous ideas. For example, among the qualifications for officers was "Congratulations from the Principal on the previous report card." Approximately one half of the I.G. class had this, therefore to them it had seemed a reasonable criterion. But a survey showed that in most of the other classes only three or four children could have met that one qualification, to say nothing of others nearly as stringent. So "Congratulations," which means five 90's and no failures, was changed to a weighted average of 85, but still no failures. This is a more attainable goal even though it probably does not satisfy the girl who wanted no marking standards, just "common sense."

The discussion lasted beyond the regular assembly period and still was not finished. The other classes wanted copies.

Doing Over

The next day the tentative constitution was reduced to a skele-

ton and copies sent to all the fifth- to eighth-year classes. They were asked to discuss it and to send in any specific suggestions by May 15. Approximately one hundred were received. Many were duplicates. These were sorted and the work of revision began. Each section was considered. If no suggestions had been received, no changes were made. If there were suggestions, each was discussed and the class decided whether a change should be made.

The constitution in its revised form was re-presented to a combined fifth-sixth, seventh-eighth year assembly on June 25. The children then voted in their classrooms. The vote was 256 to 54 and the constitution was officially adopted.

Marion V. Brown is teacher of the seventh grade class of intellectually gifted children at P S 233, Brooklyn, New York

EDUCATION AND THE TRANSITION

Sidney W. Rice

We may truly say that the present is an age of transition. In drawing such a conclusion, however, one is likely to make the erroneous generalization that any age in this rapidly changing world is one of transition. Especially is this true of the immediate present wherein any ordinary social change in the culture is apt to contain implications of world transformation.

The real test of the matter lies in the extent to which the actual bases of human life and endeavor are being changed. A period of transition is always marked by radical shifts of the social foundations and institutions about which society revolves. Ordinary social change does not imply, nor does it of necessity lead to, such uprooting of the established modes of living. It is concerned, rather, with the current institutions, their collateral social and economic heritages, and the improvement and perfection of life within the limits set by those institutions.

The period through which we are now passing is not something new to this generation. There is good evidence that society has been in a state of mobility since at least the 1890's. In all probability, present changes have their roots much farther back than that. The rapid rise of technology and the trend toward corporate, social, and collective action in our economy have made difficult the determination of ordinary and transitory changes in the culture.

The preindustrial society was based principally in the tradition of economic individualism, either of the type common to the freehold farmer or that of the enterpriser. The first, that of the freehold farmer, was characterized by the use it made of private property. Property consisted almost wholly of land and was maintained for the purpose of providing the needs of the household. Production was for use and, consequently, there was an absence

of markets. Also there was little problem of competition. The second, that of the enterpriser, can best be characterized by the use it made of private property, likewise. Here private property consisted mostly of the tools of production and was used for the purpose of profit. Naturally, there are many conflicts between these two forms of individualism, but for the present it may be said that the second form survived, and is in evidence in our culture today. Many of its theories have fallen into disrepute and have been discarded. More of them are being challenged in the interest of social advances.

There are many factors that mark our present transitional state. By no means the least of these is the rapid rise of technology. It has left its mark upon every phase of human life. The rapid rate of invention has had phenomenal social effect upon the world, in that it has placed in the hands of man powers of which no one ever dared dream. It has transferred the physical power of the agrarian age from man to machines. It has, to some extent, displaced the human element in production. It has inherent in its nature the power to bring a higher standard of living to all with a minimum of energy and time expended. Under its influence or, better still, with its assistance, we have emerged from a land-based, feudal society into an industrial age. Witness the far-reaching effects of the automobile and the radio upon travel, transportation, and communication. Consider also the possible results of the release of atomic energy.

Further evidences of transition may be found in the disintegration of the family brought about by the industrialization of the world. The home is no longer the self-contained unit it once was. The influence of the home is still apparent, but the home itself is less and less dependent upon its own productivity. Such independence has been displaced by the necessity for intercourse and closer interaction with other groups composing the masses of society. The whole economy has changed. Even the farmer

tills his soil with machinery, and for profit, so that he may buy the goods necessary for existence. He has, in a sense, become a specialist

The changing position of women attests the passing of an outmoded phase of history. Political and economic equality is permitting them to offer valuable contributions to society. In art, literature, and the professions, they are showing talents comparable, and even superior, to those of the once unchallenged male.

The doctrine of *laissez faire* has been almost wholly abandoned in favor of a controlled economy. There are few people, indeed, who would care to go back to the old planless system of our earlier days of development. Big business, which in the beginning fostered the idea, has repudiated it. At least it has done so by implication. Evidence is seen of this in the spread of independent rating boards used by large insurance and surety companies to regulate rates, commissions, and conditions of competition. While these boards have little to do with government, they grew, nevertheless, from a recognition of the need for standardization, planning, and control within the industry. Today we see federal control of almost every branch of our economy. We see it in the erection of trade barriers, both domestic and foreign, and in the control of banking and credit. Legislated controls of corporate enterprise and the use of natural resources are accepted as necessary. The government has extended assistance to agriculture. Everywhere there is evidence of the demise of the doctrine of *laissez faire*.

New efforts in the direction of health and social security for the masses are assuming great importance. Here again is a departure from the old idea of "live and let live." Legislative action in this field denotes worth-while advances.

The role of "collective action" may be said to have some bearing on the question. The rise of labor unions, professional, trade, and consumer groups is bringing into clearer focus the problems

of the masses, and is making apparent the necessity for a close scrutiny of the values by which we have been living

The implications in all of this for education are many and varied. First, it makes imperative a reappraisal of our educational system in the light of present and probable future needs. This process of reappraisal must be continuous if education is to have meaning and purpose. It is significant that the late President Roosevelt in one of his later messages gave prominence to the inalienable right of every individual to a "good education."

It is the obligation of the democracy under which we live to provide equal educational opportunity for all its citizens regardless of race, creed, or color. The problems inherent in such an undertaking are difficult to enumerate and more difficult yet to solve. They are tied up with such considerations as racial, religious, and social prejudices. Present, also, is the economic factor which precludes any thought of equality of opportunity under our present system. Further, such equality now varies from section to section, state to state, and even extends to lesser subdivisions of the state.

Granting that equality in this respect could be achieved, other problems, fully as important, arise. Among these are the questions of administration, teaching, and curriculum. Whether administration is to be left in the various subdivisions of the states or whether it is to be centralized under federal control is being discussed. Defenders of the present system point to many dangers of centralization, chief among which is the argument that by so doing we would subject education to exploitation for political purposes.

Aside from the implications in the above statement, we are confronted with the problem of what to teach and how best to teach it. The task, under these conditions, becomes more difficult for the educator. Always there are many conflicts during a period of transition, arising out of the chaos and decay of a passing age

In such times it becomes the duty of the educator to direct; to show the student through a maze of conflicting doctrines and confusing trends; to help him choose and clarify alternatives, consequences, loyalties, allegiances, and penalties. Such direction is important because upon it depends the future of our world.

Sidney W. Rice is Professor of Health and Physical Education in Milligan College, Tennessee.

SOCIETIES AROUND THE WORLD

Irwin T. Sanders

In the past, geographers and sociologists have made rather strange bedfellows. The geographers have accused the sociologists of overlooking certain important climatic and physiographic factors in the explanation of social phenomena; the latter have looked upon human geographers, especially the followers of Ellsworth Huntington, as naive monists who seek to fit all data into altogether too narrow a mould of preconception. At the University of Kentucky, by force of fortunate circumstances, the geographers and the sociologists found themselves working out a joint course which could be chosen by freshmen or sophomores to satisfy the lower-division social-science requirements. (At present, other courses which may be chosen instead are American civilization or European civilization, taught jointly by the political science and history departments.)

In planning this course, which was titled *Societies Around the World*, a threefold purpose was kept in mind:

1. To give the student a social perspective which would aid in the constructive evaluation of his own society, as well as others.
2. To introduce the student to the fields of geography and sociology, both with respect to basic principles and methods.
3. To indicate important relationships existing between habitation and society.

In order to achieve these purposes it seemed best to use the comparative method. That is, six societies which represented different types of habitat and varying degrees of social complexity were selected. During the first quarter (5 hours weekly) the societies considered are the Eskimo, the Navajo, and the Baganda. The second quarter (5 hours weekly) the societies studied include the Chinese peasant, the cotton South, and the English Midlands. As will be readily apparent, the habitations range from

the Frigid Zone to the Torrid Zone, from the isolated desert habitation of the Navajo to the humid island of Britain. The societies represented begin with the relatively undifferentiated Eskimo, move to the Navajo with a matrilineal clan system and highly ritualized religion, to the Baganda of East Africa with their complex-indigenous-political structure. The Chinese peasant is illustrative of the preponderant peasant masses of the world whose chief social values have been ownership of land and familial obligations; the cotton South illustrates social stratification, both with respect to caste and class, and an exploitative economic system based on a cash crop; while the highly industrialized English Midlands introduces the student to urbanization, economic specialization, and the development, on a large scale, of segmental interests within a complex society.

Appropriate geographical and sociological terminology is taught early in the course in order to facilitate the discussion of each society. The net result of this is that most of the basic concepts are used in connection with six different societies and become, through repetition, a real part of the student's working vocabulary and understanding. Some terms, however, are used specifically with only one or two societies to which they have special pertinence. Each student has a set of geographical terms and an approved atlas, as well as a set of sociological terms and Reuter's *Handbook of Sociology*.

In view of the unavailability of texts that gave a good cross section of primitive, peasant, and Euro-American societies, the instructors had to work out their own syllabus. Since it was impossible to expect such large classes to obtain all of their study materials from required reading in the overtaxed library, special source books for each society had to be prepared. These six source books, averaging 140 pages, consist of selections which cover most of the habitation factors and characteristics of a given society, and are issued in mimeographed form for local campus

use. These constitute a veritable mine of valuable geographical and sociological data and prove excellent teaching devices. The disadvantages of studying from mimeographed materials make this method of reproduction a temporary expedient, but in this course the students prefer readings from many different sources to the uniform, predigested style of a textbook.

The central assumption in organizing the course was that *students learn about societies best by studying them as wholes*. Consequently, throughout the study attention is focused upon the total way of life of each people. First of all the student studies about the Eskimo as an Eskimo, and about the Chinese as a Chinese; and later on becomes conscious of geography and sociology as separate disciplines. Experience in teaching such a course shows the wisdom of approaching a society in somewhat the traditional breakdown: (1) habitation; (2) maintenance institution (economic adjustments); (3) social organization, together with value systems, methods of social control, etc; (4) cultural change, with an emphasis upon dynamic forces which now are giving a new direction to the culture. This usually calls for an analysis of the impact of Western technology and ideologies upon other societies.

When approached this way the course becomes one that can put the latest visual aids to best use. Basic maps and precipitation and temperature charts are required for each habitation. For each society two class periods (fifty minutes each, spaced ten days apart) are devoted to excellent educational films on that society. Movie reports written by the students show beyond question the value such films have in illustrating certain features of the habitation and social organization. (Film strips for use in detailed study of important culture traits are also being prepared.) Points which do not readily lend themselves to photography are then emphasized by class discussions. Assignments are so scheduled that toward the end of the quarter, while class sessions are being devoted to comparisons and contrasts of the societies studied,

the students can read some topic of their own choosing. They either pursue some central theme through several societies or else do extensive reading on some society not taken up in class. Since the course was launched in September 1946, experimentation with several sections has shown the desirability of having one instructor carry a section throughout the quarter, teaching both the geographical and sociological content. Of course, there are frequent consultations and exchanges of notes between geographers and sociologists. Teaching such a course has proved a tremendous task for the instructor because he has had to obtain an acquaintanceship, if not a familiarity, with one other field, and has had to study intensively six contrasting societies. Six different instructors have had a part in this course. Some frankly dubious ones who embarked upon the venture were almost overwhelmed at what was expected of them. But, as he gained experience with the course, each one, whether geographer or sociologist, became a convert to this approach. Teaching became much more meaningful. No longer did the sociologist have to appear before his class and say, "Today we are to study social stratification," and then proceed to pick illustrations from India, from England, and from elsewhere, without ever having introduced the students to India or to England or to elsewhere (The illustrations in such cases prove out of context and the concept seems sterile and unrelated to everyday life.) But when one discusses status systems in societies which the students have studied in detail, then the concept becomes alive and relationships are readily observed.

Such a course as this could well be expanded to include economists, social anthropologists, and political scientists, provided that each instructor were willing to learn and to teach the fundamentals of the co-operating disciplines through the medium of portraying societies as living entities. The instructor's slogan in connection with the mastery of new material has been, "If the freshmen can learn it, I can learn it too."

A markedly unique feature of the course has been the co-operation of geographers and sociologists, none of whom has had a hobbyhorse to ride madly down the academic corridors. The sociology taught has had more meaning; for by visualizing the living space the students can more easily discern the less tangible area of social relationships. The geographers have found that a consideration of social factors rounds out the picture of man as a social being.

Irwin T Sanders is Head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Kentucky.

INTERGROUP RELATIONS IN ARIZONA

Roy C. Rice

How much do we know about the actual intergroup relations as they exist in the secondary schools of Arizona? If there are problems in this area, what can be done in the teacher-training institutions to help alleviate the situation? We may go a bit further and ask the question, "What do the school administrators think about this problem of intergroup relations?"

It is with these and similar questions in mind that we attempt to interpret the information gathered from questionnaires¹ returned by forty-two of the sixty-five secondary schools in Arizona.

Part I. School and Community

Arizona is a state with several distinct areas of occupation, consequently containing regions of different nationalities with individual cultures, beliefs, and practices. Approximately three fourths (73.7 per cent) of the secondary schools are located in open country or in small towns having populations of less than 10,000. This fact is accompanied by the knowledge that 23.7 per cent of these schools are integral parts of systems including grades one through twelve. Only 60.5 per cent of the secondary schools are set up for grades nine through twelve. The others include grades one to twelve, seven to twelve, eight to twelve, or ten to twelve.

Approximately one fourth of the secondary schools have enrollments of one hundred or less. With such a large number of small schools, it is not surprising to find that fifty per cent of the teachers are located in school systems employing ten or less teachers. When we consider the population of these schools we find that about one school in six has less than fifty per cent Anglo-American pupils in attendance. The other groups, in decreasing order of occurrence, are Mexican, Negro, and Indian.

¹ The School Inventory Intergroup Relations (compiled by Hugh M. Bell) was used with slight modification.

A consideration of the religious choices of the pupils in these schools shows that three fourths (79 per cent) of the schools have fifty per cent or more Protestants, and that one fifth (21 per cent) have fifty per cent Catholics. Other faiths with slight followings are the Jewish, Mohammedan, and Hindu faiths

With the school districts located primarily in farming areas and small towns it was found that the heads of the families work in the following capacities: miners and factory workers, farmers and ranchers, skilled tradesmen, clerks, business owners, and professional men. The people in the school districts mix and mingle as they please in 68.5 per cent of the districts, in the remainder of the districts the people live in distinct areas with the Mexicans as the most distinctive group represented. There appears to be very little change taking place in the various districts. The minority group seems to be increasing slightly in a few areas and decreasing in other areas

Part II. Pupil Attitudes and Behavior

In any educational institution we are concerned with the development of proper attitudes and behavior patterns. However, quite frequently we fail to realize that the pupil attitudes and behavior patterns are far from the most desirable. At times we tend to be blind to these factors which cause the less desirable attitudes and behavior patterns.

The most obvious divisions and cleavages in the secondary schools in Arizona take place along the lines of race, income levels, and national cultures. The percentages for these divisions are 47.5, 20.0, and 17.5, respectively. Only 10.5 per cent of the schools have no such lines of division.

The most overt discriminations and conflicts take place in the choice of friends, in clique groupings, and in name calling, for which the percentages are 39.2, 28.2, and 10.8, respectively

Twenty-one per cent of the schools report no such lines of bad feelings among pupils.

When actual conflicts, overt or repressed, have arisen in or about the schools they have usually been along such racial lines as: (1) Mexican versus non-Mexican groups; (2) Mexicans voting solidly for Mexican candidates in school elections; (3) name calling by Anglo-Americans leading to violence with Mexicans; (4) the rest of the school, especially Anglo-American boys, resenting the Mexicans dating Anglo-American girls. Only twenty-one per cent of the schools report that they have no such conflicts.

The fewest such conflicts (18.7 per cent) occur in the classrooms. The next most frequent place for such conflicts (28.1 per cent) is in other rooms such as toilets, locker rooms, and assemblies; while the greatest number of such conflicts (53 per cent) occur in other places, as "to and from school," which represented 25 per cent of those in this group.

The three most prominent areas of school life wherein pupils tend to exclude, keep aloof from, or otherwise discriminate against minority-group members are school dances (29.4 per cent), school parties (15.7 per cent), and class offices (11.8 per cent). The Mexicans and other minority-group members hold important class offices, and both scholastic and athletic honors. Of course, we must realize that quite frequently the good athlete is elected to a class office and is accepted by the majority group as long as he continues to excel in the area of sports.

Part III. School Practices, Changes

When we consider what is going on in our schools and just what examples the teachers are setting for the pupils, it is no wonder that there are indecision and the development of prejudices on the part of the pupils.

Many of the schools report that there are no groups towards which faculty dislike, discrimination, or unfair treatment is most

likely to be shown. The one minority group in Arizona that is most likely discriminated against is the Mexican group, which is as one might expect, since it is a large group in this state.

In a teacher-training institution it is well to know whether or not the members of the minority groups can expect to secure employment in the teaching profession after they have spent four or five years in preparation. In Arizona there are certain definite objections to the hiring of members of the minority groups. Approximately 40 per cent of the schools object to the hiring of Japanese-Americans on their staffs. Fifteen per cent of the schools object to the hiring of Spanish-Americans (or Mexicans) as Spanish teachers, while 21 per cent of the schools object to the members of this group teaching in other areas of instruction.

The dealings with the parents in some communities furnish many problems to the teachers. However, there does not seem to be any one particular group of parents with whom trouble occurs. Several of the responses indicate that trouble often occurs with parents of low income, parents of the supposedly good pupils, parents not wanting the responsibilities of parenthood, and parents associated with cliques in the community.

Very few of the schools are aware of any pressure groups in the community likely to interfere in school policy or ask special favors. Only about one third of the schools report pressure groups, and these groups seem to be very diversified.

Some schools have attempted to put forth special effort to solve intergroup problems through the following means. (1) parental and community co-operation, (2) good will and active co-operation; extracurricular activities; (3) course of study or curricular changes; (4) pupil's out-of-school life. Unfortunately there are too few schools that have attempted to improve intergroup relations in their communities even though they realize that such problems exist.

Part IV. Outlook for the Future

To look to the future, in the light of the responses made, it is found that the majority of the school administrators are optimistic. They believe that the intergroup problems will remain the same, or will grow better. However, a few of these administrators are not too optimistic. Two responses given are very realistic, as follows: (1) the "skilled trades are open only to apprentices from native Americans"; (2) "more Mexican boys 16 to 18 (years of age) will be out of work. Mexican boys back from the service resent this distinction."

The question, "Where in the nation at large can we expect the most effective leadership toward democratizing intergroup relations within the next decade?", brought rather diversified responses. The areas to which we might look for this leadership, in descending order of the responses, are through the local school system, in newspapers, in school-community councils, colleges, and universities; in churches; from radio broadcasters, and school administrators; in labor unions; at civic-luncheon clubs; in the government; in commercial motion-pictures.

In answer to the question, "Why are schools in general not making more progress in democratizing human relations within the school?", we find several items given as prominent causes. Approximately one third of the schools lay the blame on parental opposition. One fifth of the schools state the cause as community pressure. It is well known that there are towns in the Southwest where members of certain minorities are not welcome and where members of these minority groups dare not stop to spend a night. Faculty inertia is a third cause for our present lack of progress as indicated by 15.7 per cent of the replies. A fourth cause lies in the minority groups themselves. Other causes are administrative indecision, school-board conservatism, public indifferences, and so-called pupil concern.

Since this problem of intergroup relations is large, the schools must seek the aid of other organizations interested in the work. The areas in which these other organizations can help in the solution of the problem are: in pupil guidance (27.3 per cent); school-community co-ordination (22.7 per cent); assemblies (10.2 per cent); community surveys, trips, experiences (10.2 per cent); arousing faculty concern (9.1 per cent).

The preparation of future teachers is very important if the institutions of higher learning are to supply the needs of the secondary schools of the state. If there is some particular aspect of the preparation which should be given more emphasis than is given at the present time, the institutions of higher learning should be made aware of this need. Over one half (52.6 per cent) of the schools would prefer to have their new teachers with teaching experience in their major and two minor fields. Approximately one third (31.6 per cent) replied that the new teachers should have experience in their major and one minor fields, while less than one tenth (7.9 per cent) wanted new teachers with experience in their major field only. The majority of the schools want teachers who are prepared to work with their pupils in what have been known as extracurricular activities—hobbies, dramatics, school publications, sports, music, library work, scouting, etc.

There is also an indication that the schools are looking for individuals on their faculties who have had experience in fields outside of the school. Such experiences would include business, industry, civic clubs, travel, and similar activities.

The reactions of the school administrators to the questionnaire indicate that there are at least three distinct groups of administrators in the secondary schools of Arizona. The three groups include those who: (1) see no problem in these intergroup relations; (2) are aware of the problems and are making a conscious effort to do something to better the conditions which they know exist; (3) are not at all concerned with such problems. The second group

appears to be in the minority. However, some of the returns which were checked in certain responses to imply that they had no problems in their schools or communities contradicted themselves by checking definite areas of conflict in other items of the questionnaire.

The use of this questionnaire has brought together some pertinent information for the use of those who are aware of such intergroup problems. It may also instigate some constructive thinking on the part of the school administrators and teachers, and thus bring about a more conscious effort to direct their attention toward some of the aspects of their schools and communities which have heretofore gone on as usual.

Roy C. Rice is Associate Professor of Education in Arizona State College, at Tempe, Arizona

BOOK REVIEWS

Description and Measurement of Personality, by RAYMOND B CATTELL. New York: World Book Company, 1946, 602 pages

Thorndike's statement that "whatever exists, exists in some quantity and can—at least theoretically—be measured," is taken as a fundamental axiom of this treatise on human personality. The author deplores his observation that present-day research in psychology has lost deliberation and planning in that "no one has stopped to deal thoroughly with the task of describing and measuring personality variables." He objects strenuously to the applied psychologist's impatience to "predict and control, without having first observed, described, and measured."

The book is the first of two volumes, and is described by the author as being a "cross-sectional, instantaneous depiction of personality." The second volume, proposed to be a longitudinal study of personality, was not yet written at the time the first was published.

The first six chapters deal with principles and methods involved in the measurement of personality. Here the author begins with a description of the generally accepted syndromes utilized in clinical psychology and psychiatry. From this he works into an excellent theoretical discussion of the meaning of personality traits and trait unities, and of methods suitable for their measurement. Here a distinction is made between "source" traits and "surface" traits. The latter, being more readily observed, have hitherto held the attention of most investigators. Consequently, the current need is for a more careful investigation of source traits. The seldom-clarified concepts of the interaction of traits and the dynamic structure of traits are presented carefully and consistently, but with a necessarily high degree of theoretical abstraction.

In the second part of the book (chapters VII through XII) the author does a scholarly and much-needed job of evaluating and integrating the significant research findings in this field to date. This is based upon an unusually complete listing of traits and syndromes derived from an exhaustive study of research data.

In the final chapter the author catalogues and interprets each of the twelve primary-source traits which he offers as being those most convincingly demonstrated through factor analysis. To me this represents

the high point of the entire book. The treatise is concluded with reference to a number of proposed topics for further research in the field.

The book is carefully and thoughtfully written, but is not one which is easily read. The treatment presupposes a familiarity on the part of the reader with the general principles of factor analysis. There are a number of points expressed rather forcefully by the author which will undoubtedly serve to antagonize many psychologists. For example, reference is made to the Rorschach test as being something on a par with a patent medicine. However, this book will undoubtedly serve a fundamentally important purpose in causing more profound thought on the part of any reader, and in provoking a greater amount of significant and basic research in the field of personality investigation.

PAUL L. MERRILL

Child Psychology for Professional Workers, by FLORENCE M. TEAGARDEN, revised edition. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1946, 613 pages.

In advanced courses my students and I enjoyed the first edition of this textbook. Its value is now enhanced by copious 1940-1946 references, and by addition to, or the rewriting of, many sections. For example, in the chapter headed, "Getting the Child into the World," we now have material on blood groups and the Rh factor, tables on medicolegal applications of blood types, and charts showing stages in fetal development and labor.

Case contrasts strengthen the chapter on "Fundamental Physical Habits"; and the chapter on children with visual handicaps has been strikingly improved. The work covering parental attitudes, broken homes, foster homes, and adoption and institutional handicaps remains practically the same except for new documentation. Projective techniques and substitutes for the I.Q. receive too brief a treatment for the prospective social workers, teachers, nurses, and counselors who need this compendium.

MIRIAM C. GOULD

Dynamics of Learning, by NATHANIEL CANTOR. Buffalo: Foster & Stewart Publishing Company, 1946, 282 pages.

"We must have planning while, at the same time, we provide for active, positive participation by individuals. We must have centralized

That the causes of prejudice and hatred, as well as the causes of crime, are polychotomous is indicated by the author's discussion of their causes. Since there is no single cause the cure must include as many approaches as there are causes. In Part VIII of the book, running some sixty pages, the author attempts a discussion of the cures which have been, and could be, tried. No single cure or panacea is offered for the eradication of hate, but a series of approaches, which includes attacks on the economic, sociological, psychological, and legalistic fronts, is described. The solutions discussed do not seem to have been put into action as painstakingly as have the causes of the problem been isolated.

It seems to me that Section V of the book, *Cultural Pluralism vs. Cultural Regimentation*, is one of the weaker parts of the work. While the author shows that our nation is the richer for the cultural contributions of American immigrants, he seems at the same time to imply that much more could have been gained if we had maintained a system of "Cultural Pluralism." While I do not believe that one's culture is something which can be changed as one changes his jacket—as those who advocate the "Melting Pot Theory" of Americanization seem to believe—in the theory of cultural pluralism I do see certain weaknesses which are not even hinted at by the author. A certain amount of unanimity of opinion and uniformity of behavior are necessary for the smooth functioning of any society; therefore the necessity of some system of assimilation. Carried to its logical conclusion (Switzerland, with cultural autonomy for its German, French, and Italian citizens, is given as an example), the theory of cultural pluralism would make of America a veritable tower of Babel. The pattern and tradition of American culture would suffer; and the immigrant, separated from the dominant culture by the gulf of cultural differences—language, customs, folkways, and mores, would sacrifice full participation in whatever of worth his adopted culture had to offer. Most people will accept the fact that faulty programs of assimilation are detrimental to the immigrant as well as to the assimilating group, for the process is one of interpenetration. However, the author seems to believe that any attempt at Americanization must result in pressuring the immigrant into becoming "a 100 per cent American."

The book *Why Men Hate* is full of quotable passages, arguments, and facts with which any one who would answer the racist should arm himself.

EDWARD J. KUNZER

Youth in Trouble, Studies in Delinquency and Despair, by AUSTIN L. PORTERFIELD. Fort Worth, Texas: The Leo Potishman Foundation, 1946, 135 pages.

The relationship between the delinquency of an individual and his status in the community is the problem of particular interest to this author. He notes that the child who gets into court is usually a friendless child who is without a respected place in the community. Porterfield has pointed out earlier that the complainants who prefer charges against children tend to be peevish and irresponsible individuals. He presents the results of a survey of college students indicating that the behavior of the students had at one time been as delinquent as the behavior of children who are called into court, yet the youth who reach college have rarely been in court.

Three illustrative case stories are presented emphasizing the struggle for status and for a feeling of belongingness. The author feels that the community as a whole is responsible for the criminal cultural patterns that exist within it, consequently any adequate prevention program must involve processes of community organization, starting with co-ordinating councils or area councils to integrate and enlarge existing programs.

There is a certain amount of duplication of material in different chapters, apparently due to the fact that some of the chapters were published earlier as separate articles. Despite the rather loose editing, however, the plea for the education of the community to the necessity for a broad co-ordinated program is very strong.

PAUL SHELDON

Child Psychology and Development, by LOUIS P. THORPE. New York. The Ronald Press Company, 1946, 781 pages.

The contribution of this worthy textbook to the field of child study consists chiefly in the comprehensive character of its content. In the organization and plan of the book, in style of presentation, in its expressed viewpoint (patterned eclecticism!), and in the diversified audience for which usefulness is claimed this text does not differ greatly from the representative books now widely used.

The volume is omniverous. The inclusive scope of the materials is demonstrated by the fifteen chapters with their intricate subtopics. The prefatory promise to provide access to the scientific literature is abun-

dantly kept by prodigious documentation from a variety of well-selected sources. There is justification for the expressed belief that this book will meet the needs of many different types of people who live and work with children.

A feature of this text which places it in a class by itself is the abundance and effectiveness of its visual aids. The pictures, tables, figures, charts, and other illustrative devices are outstanding. Wherever a suitable book is being sought in the field of child psychology and related areas and courses, this recent serious and competent contribution by Professor Thorpe must be considered

EDWARD L. KEMP

Personnel Research and Test Development in the Bureau of Naval Personnel, edited by DEWEY B. STUIT. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1947, 513 pages

Designed as a comprehensive evaluation of Navy test and personnel procedures during the war, this volume offers to psychological and personnel workers an encompassing survey of new and familiar techniques applied in large-scale research. Despite occasional duplication, its twenty-two chapters and five technical appendices provide a play-by-play developmental study of the problems encountered and the methods employed in staffing ships and stations with effectively screened and selected man power. Outstanding features are its completeness, carefully detailed organization, frank and documented discussions of criteria selection, validation shortcomings, measures of personal adjustment, and suggestions for new directions and methodology.

PHILLIP J. ZLATCHIN

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A PHILOSOPHY OF RECREATION IN AMERICA

Jay B. Nash

The threat of leisure is upon us and modern man is ill-prepared to face the implications. Our schools have been so concerned with teaching the tools of learning and getting young people ready for college that they have been of little assistance in helping young people get ready to live.

Leisure has been one of the age-old dreams of man. Opposed as he has been by the forces of nature in the vigorous effort to live, man has dreamt of Elysian fields. Sometime this frail bark will come into the quiet waters of a sheltered port; then there will be time for man to do the things he thinks he has always wanted to do. The mechanical age, capped by the atomic era, has given man time. The great question now is what will he do with it. The outlook is none too bright.

Edward L. Thorndike, writing for the *Institute of Educational Research* a few years ago, commented on this great increase of available time. He notes "that with time on their hands people merely read more magazines, mostly pulp; ride in automobiles, go to the motion pictures and listen to the radio." Says he. "Students

of history and sociology will credit the present flood of entertainment to the great increase in the supply coupled with commercial methods of stimulating the demand. They will argue that men will, under fit environmental conditions, spend their free time in serving the state by fighting or otherwise, in serving the church by religious rites or in serving the family by labor and ceremonial. They will assert that men follow true gods of truth or beauty or virtue or utility or the common good as readily as the false god of entertainment if they are shown the right path by example and have their feet set upon it by habit. I hope this is so. But I fear that the craving for entertainment is deeply rooted in man's nature and that very strong counter-attractions will be required to stem the present flood. . . . The lines of least resistance go toward cheerful sociability, free play, sensory stimulation and emotional excitement."

The need for recreation, and incidentally a philosophy of recreation, comes right across the board in our modern society. Three groups, specifically, will feel the need most. In this connection and in this entire article I am dealing with recreation as an adult term and am avoiding a discussion of the play of children.

The older adolescent group. The first to feel this need are the young people from seventeen to twenty-two. It is generally admitted that there will be little satisfying wage work for these people. They will not have sufficient technical training to fit into modern industry. Many in this group will be ruthlessly tossed out into a society in which they are not particularly well adjusted or particularly wanted. Many of them would like to get married and establish homes, but from the economic standpoint that is impossible. Where these young people are taking additional technical training or where they are attempting to hold jobs the number of free hours which they will have will be large.

Working hours will be fewer. The second group to feel the pressure of additional leisure will be the worker. The hours of

work are now low and will likely be reduced. The work which is performed will probably grow in its monotony. Men and women will feel the necessity of some change of occupation. Unless some constructive program is forthcoming many of these hours will be *spent in what may be broadly termed as dissipation.*

Retirement will be at a younger age. The tendency is more and more for the retiring age to go further and further down. In most cases it is sixty and in some instances it is below sixty. With the life expectancy of sixty-eight, this means that people who have retired will have many years of vitality which can be and should be spent in some useful and stimulating activity, probably of the recreational type. The threat of retirement is upon us. Dr. Roger I. Lee discussed this at a recent meeting of the American Medical Association and stated that "fixed retirement is a mistake."

In discussing recreation as a basic need, some fundamental assumptions must be discussed.

Man is an active organism. Man is happy when he is doing something that he considers significant. He is integrated around interests. In this connection, man is very much like a child's top: he is a going concern as long as there is a sufficient amount of interest force to keep life spinning. The minute this drive ceases, like the top, he topples over. The psychiatrist says he has "gone to pieces." As long as an individual can keep himself stimulated there is a resultant happiness and, incidentally, health. The casual spectator who has no part in the game but looking on cannot receive much stimulation. Thus, the radio, the motion pictures, and spectator sports with the attending tendency to gamble represent escapes. They are, with very few exceptions, escapes from monotony.

No man can grow to cultural stature without doing something significant for the group. Aristotle thought of the good man as the good workman; workmanship thought of in the craft sense as well as the social sense. Man's feet are in the Slough of Despond,

his head is bent low before the mirror or his companions until he has achieved—until men look up to him and say, "He has mastered" The area of achievement is so broad that every man, woman, and child can acquire this spiritual lift from accomplishment.

It may be that social security will not turn out to be the Elysian field of which men have dreamed. Social security is always a two-edged sword; it must be provided to a certain extent for all, but particularly for the victims of unforeseen tragedy; on the other hand, it has a tendency to put a crutch upon which he too readily depends in the armpits of man. Man needs the thrill of contests, he needs the uncertainty of the game. His achievement, civilization itself, has been made possible because "man has been kicked into activity by a hostile environment." Response to challenge has made it possible for man to climb to dizzy heights.

Recreational opportunities must supplement work. Work, throughout the ages, is one of the ways in which man has had a chance to achieve. The good workman was always in an honored position. He achieved. He had status in the group. This is no plea for longer hours of repetitive wage work. This is no defense of drudgery; this is a plea for challenging work, world work, where the individual has sufficient skill to bring him success so that he may have the joy of achievement. However, we must recognize that in a machine age much of our work will be routinized, and man can find little joy or satisfaction in doing his part. When this time comes, recreation must offer the opportunity for providing stimulating and satisfying activities.

Recreation is a doing concept, a mastering concept, a creating concept, and hence is a method of achieving integration of "mind and body," hence normality. When work, because of its routinization and mechanization, ceases to furnish man an outlet for man's creative spirit, recreation can furnish activities that provide such an outlet.

The range of hobbies covers the entire field of educative activities. These may be a good book, a hike through the hills, a romp in the park, identifying the elusive warbler, the various phases of music, the entire range of craft activities, sports, and games adapted to ages, the collector, the canner of fruit, the maker of rugs, or the endless ways in which man must learn to achieve. Where these are not on a wage-work basis, outcomes can be achieved recreationally.

The responsibilities of education in preparing people for leisure are twofold. First, the educational activities must be thought of at least partially with a recreational viewpoint. Few people will use the instructions received in music or science from a vocational standpoint, but thousands may be able to use these activities from a recreational standpoint. These recreational opportunities must be the positive objective of the teacher. The seeing of recreational outcomes must not be left to the immature child; this is an adult responsibility. It is very significant that a large majority of recreational activities of adults have had their foundations laid in early childhood. Skill patterns once learned are never lost. Therefore, the educative processes should stress a wide range of skill experiences. The child must learn to do things with his hands, to know trees and flowers, to sing, to skate, and then he can fall back on these years later and obtain satisfaction from success.

We see this striving in many men, from Leonardo da Vinci to Winslow Homer—but we must also recognize the faltering steps toward this goal taken by the small child who brings home his first bit of drawing to an appreciative mother.

High on the scale of exploration may be Ponce de Leon, Ericson, or Stanley, but low on the scale is the constant effort of a child to see behind every curtain, to reach for every strange object, to tunnel in the sand, or to explore a dark cave.

One man and then another said *why* when he saw an apple drop from a tree, a great chandelier moving back and forth with

rhythmic motion, a tea kettle lid going up and down, and a finger enlarged as he looked through a piece of broken glass. But the boy who grinds a lens and makes a telescope from the muffler of a car, builds a radio, or experiments with the law of the level is in the same field of science.

We may be overawed by a powerful mountain climber, a skier, or a juggler, an athlete with tremendous prowess, but we must recognize these beginnings in the little child in his first tag-and-it game or with his first base hit.

Some men have recognized more clearly the wants and longings of man—it may have been a Buddha or a Mohammed, a Gandhi or a Kagawa, or it may have been a Messiah—but the small child who gets his first thrill of satisfaction from serving his group has embarked on the same trail.

Education has one more responsibility and here the school must shoulder much of the burden. Young people, old people, all people must be given the opportunity to carry on, to keep alive, and to continue in their hobby interests which provide the drive behind the will to live. Recreation will supply the antidote to much of the tenseness, the monotony, and the hollowness of modern living. From the standpoint of physiological health alone man needs the relaxation and stimulation which come from recreational pursuits. We are at the threshold of conquering most of our disorders which arise from infections, such as pneumonia, tuberculosis, typhoid fever, and the like, but the nongerm diseases have moved up to threaten us and rank high on the list of killers in 1947. Heart disease, cancer, cerebral hemorrhage, motor and industrial accidents, and stomach and intestinal disorders are our modern enemies. Man cannot work all day and worry all night, there must be a letdown and the letdown must be in activities, in doing something stimulating with slow, rhythmic cadence. But beyond mere physiological health man needs the thrill of achievement. Somehow throughout the ages there has been an urge for man to add

beauty to utility. More and more the opportunities for man to have an outlet for his creativity will be in recreation. Recreation becomes a must, one of the fundamental human needs.

Jay B Nash is a Professor of Education in the School of Education, New York University

THE DYNAMICS OF RECREATIONAL THEORY

Eduard C. Lindeman

The statemanship of recreation, as distinguished from its craftsmanship, requires a constantly renewing orientation. The hiatus between theory and practice in this field, as in so many others, is in part due to the fact that recreational activities tend to become stereotyped, reduced to habit. A comparatively new form of leisure-time activity, the movies for example, has already inaugurated patterns of habit: families designate one night of each week as "movie night," thus standardizing one phase of their recreation. Vacations have become so far ritualized that in some areas, particularly in urban communities, certain functions are decimated or abandoned during the holiday season. There is, of course, nothing wrong with recreational habit-forming except that it lessens the possibilities of initiating new practices following upon new theories. Still more serious, however, is the likelihood that standardization of leisure will inhibit theorists from giving attention to those factors in civilization and culture which should point to revised theory.

My purpose in this brief essay is to designate some of the forces that tend to stimulate new modes and opportunities for recreation, and incidentally to point out here and there some of the theoretical implications involved

The most potent force for change in modern society, particularly American society, is patently that implacable trinity composed of *science, technology, and industry*. Science leads to invention, in-

vention leads to new productive enterprises and processes, and, finally, industry determines how men and women are to do their work. It has become customary to combine these separate elements into a single symbol, namely, the Machine (much as anthropologists utilize corn [maize] as the symbol of earlier Mayan cultures) and to infer dynamics from this central fact. He who understands the Machine, so goes the assumption, and has some acquaintance with its dynamic qualities will also understand the culture for which the Machine stands as symbol.

One theoretical implication from the above discussion is certainly clear, namely, that recreation should in some degree serve as a complement to the kind of work which the Machine necessitates. If, for example, the Machine requires a persistent form of attention and is hence likely to exact a nervous tension on behalf of the worker, then it seems clear that recreation should in this instance provide relaxation. Thus far we have produced only a meager theoretical foundation for this phase of machine-age culture and mostly in the realm of fatigue studies and inferences.

Increased facilities for and accelerated speed of transportation patently influence the leisure of our people. This is merely another aspect of Machine (dynamics), but it is one which thus far has not led to basic theoretical principles for recreation. The automobile has altered American leisure-time practices in numerous ways, but the major consequences thus far achieved in recreational planning are increased use of national and state parks and acceleration of tourism.

It is doubtful if *economics* should be considered as a source of dynamics, but the recreational theorist who remains unaware of such economic facts as the distribution of the national income will always be in arrears with respect to his theory. It is wasted effort to lay theoretical grounds for a type of recreation that people cannot afford.

Public policy is a source of cultural dynamics and may also, alas,

serve as a source of statics. Recreational leaders have not, in the past, capitalized on that phase of current public policy which is epitomized in the term, "the welfare state." Theoretically, a welfare state is one which rests upon the assumption that political stability is achievable only when citizens believe that their government will not permit a degradation of their standard of living. In its initial stages a welfare state attempts to deal with such issues as unemployment, social security, the various insurances, etc., but once this step has been taken the entire standard of living of the population comes into question. If we may assume that leisure is freedom which the worker earns because he has labored, and if government assumes a degree of responsibility in establishing the right to work, why is it not also reasonable to assume that government must also take some responsibility for the disposition of this earned freedom?

The problem precipitated by this question is not as simple as it may seem, particularly when the welfare state is also a democratic one. The freedom which the worker earns through his labor does not belong to the state, as was assumed, for example, by the Nazis in Germany. There the leisure of the people was captured by the state and utilized for purposes of regimentation. Under democratic conditions it is essential that the state should furnish opportunities for recreation, but the manner in which these opportunities are used by the people must be wholly compatible with democratic values. What citizens do with their leisure is of primary importance to the culture of the state, but in a democratic nation this importance derives from the fact that the freedom thus expressed is genuine.

This brief discussion of public policy will indicate how necessary it becomes for recreational theorists and leaders to understand the full meaning of that blessed but vulnerable word, "democracy." Democracy is an epic experiment in human relations and since it is an experiment its values should never become fixed or

static. This does not mean, however, that we must be vague and diffuse about those values which at any given moment of history become strategic for the preservation and enhancement of democratic living. If recreation is to become a potent ally for the projection of democratic experience, its leaders must be able to describe such experience in sound theoretical fashion and also to translate its meanings in terms of practical realism.

The *Machine*, the *welfare state*, and the *democratic discipline*: these are sources of dynamics for a modern theory of recreation. The Machine makes it necessary for modern man to utilize his leisure in ways which compensate for his progressive detachment from nature and the more primitive balances of life. The welfare state cannot fulfill its mission unless it plans for leisure as well as work. The democratic discipline may be used as a cultural touchstone according to which the values that recreation is to serve are made clear and teachable.

Theory may also be tested in the light of such other factors as the relative mobility of a given population, vocational pressures, public-housing developments, fiscal arrangements affecting both public and private budgeting and spending, and the adaptiveness of commercial enterprisers whose income depends upon the people's leisure. These are, no doubt, of lesser importance to the theorist than the categories mentioned above and yet they deserve inclusion.

Population mobility is caused directly by industry. Workers must move to the places where jobs are available. But this is one of those instances in which the effect of one period becomes the cause of another. People who move frequently may ultimately come to enjoy moving and hence seek for opportunities to move when it might be advantageous to remain where they are. We are not at this moment concerned about the causes of mobility of American families and individuals but rather with its consequences. If, for example, a family moves seven times in each

decade (and this is not unusual for many American families), how will this fact affect the leisure-time activities of its members? How should recreational planning for these unstable families be conducted and where does the responsibility for such planning rest?

Vocational pressures is a term with two sets of implications, one reflected in educational institutions and the other in the labor market. At certain periods and in some communities the fear of economic insecurity is so great that the entire educational enterprise is thought of almost wholly in the light of its relation to vocations. I have lived in such communities and under these circumstances and have noticed that the recreational life of people thus motivated by insecurity often tends to become violent in character. Here, no doubt, lies a clue for the theorist. Youths are compelled to concentrate on earning a livelihood at the very time of life when their natural inclinations might lead them to explore nature and the various arts; thus a potential recreational resource for the years ahead is neglected and perhaps lost.

Public-housing developments offer manifold opportunities for experimenting with family forms of recreation. Unhappily, these opportunities are rarely realized because most housing experts think of shelter and not of community when they project housing schemes. This fact, that is, the obtuseness and lack of sociological orientation on the part of housing administrators, is doubly important because new housing developments first of all obtrude upon and "break up" established neighborhoods, thus destroying existing recreational facilities and habits, and superimpose thereon new neighborhood structures with new leisure needs.

Fiscal arrangements affect life in peculiar ways. A certain percentage of each family's income goes to local, county, state, and federal tax collectors. Our historic policy has been to reduce this percentage when the income is high and to increase it when income is low, a procedure which is obviously erroneous. Fiscal

errors of this type bear directly upon the quality of life possible for citizens. How, for example, can a family plan a suitable recreational program knowing that it will be obliged to pay most in taxation at the time when its income will be lowest? It is in part due to this awkward fiscal fact that the United States publicly supported the best recreational program its people have ever enjoyed during the late depression.

Another fiscal problem appears when one realizes that most American towns and cities are still striving to operate their municipal functions through funds derived from property taxation. The limit of property taxation is soon reached and beyond that limit every penalty exacted upon the property owner, especially the home owner, tends to destroy community morale and threatens political stability. Claims for expenditures on behalf of recreation must be put forth in the light of this paradoxical fiscal situation and these claims must compete with similar ones made in behalf of education, health, transportation, etc. On this account one discovers communities which were once well equipped with recreational facilities but are so no longer, and of course long-term recreational planning under these circumstances is rendered impossible. How, then, is the recreational theorist to get his item incorporated in the local, county, state, and national budgets? Likewise, how are those private agencies which perform such excellent services to democracy through their recreational services to survive and expand?

Adaptiveness on the part of commercial enterprisers who serve recreational needs is often thought to be a direct reflection of the dynamic quality of a so-called free-enterprise economy, and this claim is not without validity. The growth of spectator sports is without question a by-product of the profit motive. Night baseball, for example, is not designed to serve the preferences of the players; its rise in favor is traceable to the plain fact that it increases the profits of the owners of baseball clubs. Why should not the

social-service motivation lead to similar inventions on the part of recreational leaders whose goals are something other than profits? The answer most frequently given is that these public servants are not competing and are hence lacking in those qualities which induce inventiveness. There is another answer, namely, that the public servant is engaged in a higher form of competition, not for profits, but for happiness and a more humane culture; but he has not learned how to make this form of competition as attractive as competitiveness in the materialistic realm.

The moral of what has been written above is to be found ultimately in an examination of the training which is now offered to young people who wish to devote their lives to recreational progress. Somewhere in the curricula designed for these students one should find courses that are distinctly sociological and cultural in nature, courses that elevate recreational training above the plans of technique, courses that equip students to utilize cultural and philosophical perspectives.

Edward C. Lindeman is a Professor of Social Philosophy in the New York School of Social Work, Columbia University

WHY NOT A YEAR-ROUND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM?

John W. Studebaker

For the past few years American educators have been engaged in a defensive battle. Administrators have had their hands full attempting to keep their schools properly staffed and seeing to it that the quality of instruction did not suffer too greatly as a result of the high teacher turnover. There was little time for consideration of broad-scale plans for school improvement.

The easing of the educational crisis is freeing educators to devote more time to long-range planning. The time seems favor-

able, therefore, for me to review a proposal I made some time ago: that our cities begin to think in terms of providing a year-round educational program. Children between the ages of, say, ten and sixteen would spend nine months, as at present, in school. The remaining three months would be spent in a nearby school camp, which would be an integral part of the school system.

This is a propitious time for consideration of this proposal for a number of reasons. Public interest in education is now intense. In almost any community a carefully developed proposal for a year-round education program, including three months at a school camp, would stand a good chance of capturing attention and winning support.

It happens, too, that school camps could be planned now in many communities without increasing very much, if any, the contemplated over-all expenditures for school expansion. We have estimated that some eight billion dollars will have to be expended over the next several years to put our elementary and secondary schools in first-class shape—a sum which is equal to the amount now invested in these school properties. Many communities have expansion plans laid out and even begun. These communities might consider scaling down their plans for their regular school plant by about one fourth and devoting what is saved to the acquisition and development of a suitable camp site. With a year-round school camp program in operation, it will be feasible to have a smaller city-school plant, for about one fourth of the pupils of the ages indicated will always be at camp. A city with 4,000 children between the ages of ten and sixteen would have to provide schools for only about 3,000.

City children would derive benefits of the greatest value from a year-round educational program which included three months at a school camp in the country. Except for the casual educational experiences which happen to present themselves, long summer vacations are a waste for most children. A year-round educational

program would give them an opportunity to learn and go forward throughout the year.

The months in the country would be a rich educational and recreational experience for city children. The fact that school camps would offer opportunities for both learning and fun is itself, I believe, of considerable importance. "Gee, this is fun," a small girl at a school camp was overheard to exclaim, "and it's science, too." Children whose education included three months of exciting activities in the out-of-doors would not be likely to think of school (and, later on in life, work) as something necessarily devoid of pleasure.

The period at the school camp would be rich in opportunities for learning by doing. Camping experiences, for example, provide ideal opportunities for practicing democratic living. In the comparatively simple environment of a school-camp children would readily see the reasons for having some rules and regulations. To some extent they could participate in making those rules and in planning various camping activities. Each day would offer opportunities for learning how to get along with others, work with others, and share responsibility. The months at the school camp would also provide an opportunity for learning about health and hygiene, not through abstract study, but through the formation of good health habits and the consideration of the problems which naturally arise in connection with such services as the provision of food and the water supply.

The school-camp environment would present enough work opportunities to inculcate habits of regularity and responsibility. Chores, it is now realized, have real educational value. They give the child performing them a sense of confidence and social acceptance, help him to develop the capacity for hard work and to assume and enjoy responsibilities.

The period at the school camp would have unusual value for personality development. The child would get to know his fellow

pupils better and come to see his teacher as a real human being. He would come in contact with other adults, the members of the camp staff, and perhaps strike up a close relationship with some one of them. If the school camp provides skillful and sympathetic supervision, with special attention for those in need of it, the months there should be a period of unusually rapid growth.

Parents sense this value of camp experience and may be expected to take a keen interest in the proposal for school camps and the actual operation of the camps once they are established. This interest is desirable in itself, and it provides opportunities for close and valuable interchange between parents and teachers—in Alvin Zander's phrase, "for parent education with no necessity for labeling it as such."¹

Many aspects of school-camp experience obviously have a carry-over value through the year. Camp experience will make the work of the remaining nine months more meaningful. The period in the out-of-doors will provide material for self-expression in music and the visual arts. It will offer opportunities for teaching many phases of the regular curriculum better than they can be taught in the classroom, for driving home things read about, for arousing curiosity. The school camp must be an integral part of the total school program or its full educational advantages cannot be realized.

Nothing worth while comes without effort, and I am well aware of the difficulties involved in working out the sort of program suggested. There will probably have to be years of experimentation in many parts of the country before ideal patterns for a year-round school program are worked out. Precisely because the months at the school camp may be expected to have such a far-reaching effect on growth and personality development, they must be skillfully planned. The staff of the camp will have to be

¹ "The Influence of the Summer Camp on Personality Development," *The Nervous Child*, VI, No. 2 (1947)

selected with extreme care, with consideration given to the influence they will have on children as well as to their skills. Training programs will have to be developed to enable teachers to make a maximum contribution at the school camps, and the role of the teachers and the camp staff will have to be clearly, but flexibly, defined. It is to be recognized that while a year-round educational program will not greatly increase total investment in school plant, it will call for a larger operating budget.

But it is to be hoped that these difficulties will serve as a challenge, rather than a deterrent. We do not have to start completely from scratch. Many schools now attempt to help children plan their summers and make educational use of their vacation experience when they return in the fall. Schools have shown interest in camping for about twenty years, and a few offer their pupils some form of camping activity. In many cases this is limited to one-day or overnight trips, but since 1940 from six to ten school systems have experimented with extended camping experiences during the school year.

Two particularly promising experiments are going forward in Michigan and California. The W. K. Kellogg Foundation is helping to finance two year-round school camps for fifth- and sixth-grade children in Michigan. At Clear Lake Camp, near Dowling, Western Michigan College of Education is conducting a five-year experiment, now in its third year, to determine the value of camping for pupils and for teacher training. St. Mary's Camp, near Battle Creek, is operated by a Board representing the county schools.

Both camps offer pupils at the fifth- and sixth-grade level two weeks of camping experience. Both attempt to dovetail that experience into the regular school program. The children are accompanied by two teachers and each camp has a regular staff. Every effort is made to give the children opportunities for learning by doing and to see that they reap the educational advantages of

living together. Special emphasis is placed on things that can be taught naturally and effectively outdoors. For example, the study of Michigan history is included in the sixth-grade curriculum, and lumbering occupies an important place in that history. At both Clear Lake and St. Mary's, children begin to learn something about lumbering as they go with members of the camp staff to get wood for the fireplace. They see a tree felled, aid in swamping, splitting, and cutting it into firewood length. They learn something of the tools needed and the proper use of those tools. Finally, they visit a nearby sawmill, and this is an exciting as well as a meaningful project.

The City-County Camp Commission of San Diego, California, is developing a well-rounded school-camp program which will eventually permit all public-school students of San Diego City and County, in grades five through twelve, to have a week of camping experience. Some 5,000 elementary-school children have already attended Camp Cuyamaca, which was opened in March 1946. In January 1947 Camp Palomar was opened as a work-experience center for senior-high-school students; campers spend four hours a day, for which they are paid, in rebuilding and improving the camp facilities, have three hours of supervised study, and a rich recreation program. Later, other camps will be opened. Some 700,000 acres, embracing mountain, beach, and desert areas, are available for San Diego's program.

Camp Cuyamaca is very similar to Clear Lake and St. Mary's in its objectives and basic pattern of operation. There is the same effort to relate the camp experience to the school program. The camp has a permanent staff, which assumes responsibility for all activities, but teachers accompany their classes, observe, and advise. Elementary-school principals of San Diego evaluated the project after its first year of operation and voted unanimously to continue it. The camp experience had particular value, it was felt, in teaching co-operation, good citizenship, and social living, and in

helping children who were shy or had other personality problems.

Over the next decade how many additional school systems will join those now experimenting with school camps? I hope many will do so, and that some will pioneer in the development of a year-round school program, which includes three months at an outdoor school camp. This program represents an important frontier in American education. As we bring the vacation period, now a kind of unexplored territory, into our educational domain, we shall, I am convinced, discover a rich new land. And just as the development of the West benefited the United States as a whole, so the assimilation of these now wasted months will enrich the entire educational program.

John W. Studebaker is United States Commissioner of Education

A PLAN FOR COMMUNITY SERVICE

Mark A. McCloskey

Let us take it for granted that the part-time school and the isolated school is an anachronism. The American public, hungry for recreation and adult education, will not continue to tolerate the part-time use of the community's most valuable physical properties strategically located and essentially usable for recreation and adult education. Schools as institutions of education and good living cannot "go it alone." They have to be in partnership with community agencies and the ordinary citizenry.

New York City is making greater full-time use of its school plant and increasing its partnership ventures with agencies and citizens. It has no one plan, no single prescription. It works on a variety of arrangements, some poor, some good, some better, but all of them subject to modification and adjustment in the light of experience and the ever-changing needs of neighborhood, for New York is a city made up of many cities.

Any bonafide group or organization, when a school is not in use for school purposes (recreation and adult-education programs operated by the Board of Education are construed as school purposes), may get a permit to hold social, civic, educational, as well as political meetings. The fees are nominal with preferential treatment for certain youth agencies. In 1946, exclusive of use for polling places, 5,220 permits were issued for 98,763 periods of school use.

From September through June, 170 afterschool playgrounds are in operation under a staff of three or four teachers, using any part of the school plant necessary for the program. Frequently, this program is augmented by special arrangements with parent associations and other community groups.

The summer program calls for the operation of 313 vacation playgrounds, 42 swimming pools, 26 athletic fields, and 20 open-air dance areas. The fields operate seven days a week from 9:00 A.M. until sundown. The dance areas are used in the evenings and other services operate five days a week from 9:00 A.M. to 5:30 P.M. A staff of 1,955 teachers supervise these activities.

On three, four, or five nights a week, depending upon the neighborhood need, 143 community centers with a staff of 775 teachers operate from October through May. All facilities in the school plant are available. The public is welcomed individually or in groups. Civic, social, athletic, and educational organizations with their own leadership and instruction are invited and housed.

Thus far we have examined standard procedure. Several years ago, one community undertook to attack its own neighborhood problems and to promote its own welfare. A neighborhood council was created, raised money to employ a full-time center director to enlarge and enrich the afterschool program, and offered to act in an advisory capacity at the school-community center. The movement thus initiated has grown until eleven such partnership centers are in operation. We have stopped expansion of this

pattern of co-operation so that we can evaluate the process as an aid in future planning.

Another experimental operation just started involves a three-way partnership. A local community group, the Y.W.C.A., an organization national in scope, and the Board of Education make joint financial contributions and constitute a joint consultative board of operations. They have agreed upon a program and a policy all within a framework suitable to a public-school building and a publicly supported school system. This arrangement will be subjected to clinical study for a period of three years. It may have in it the longed-for solution for the problem of co-operation between public and private agencies.

Another approach of promise is in the experimental type of Youth and Adult Center organized by the Board of Education in partnership with private agencies and local citizens of a well-defined neighborhood. Two such centers exist at the present time with a third in the process of organization.

The essential aspect of this type of approach is the attempt to focus all of the available educational resources upon a natural community. Several schools, generally comprising a high school, a junior high school, and one or two elementary schools, are combined under one administrative head to offer a program for all the people, regardless of age or educational attainment. The program is designed to meet the needs of kindergarten children as well as their grandparents. It runs horizontally with those who want vigorous athletic competition to those who want book reviews and chess, those who want to discuss politics and those who want to dance, those who want to sew and those who want to swim. Little distinction is made between adult education for satisfaction and the usually conceived recreation program. The program seeks to provide leadership in any subject that any group of twenty think interesting to them. The center seeks to promote those activities contributing to citizenship.

A community council consisting of agency representatives, local leaders, and curbstome citizens helps to finance the project, but what is more important, it helps to decide the character of the program which is to be offered. The movement is from the usual type of co-operation obtained by convening the welfare agencies in a community to enlisting the advice and aid of local citizen groups and even ordinary sidewalk citizenry. This use of the school plan for recreation, for adult education, and for the development of civic awareness, as well as civic competence in community groups, provides the opportunity for the greatest advance the school system has made in years. In this type of operations, the school need not be the largest star in the constellation of service, but it should never be entirely outside the orbit. The full-time center director does not invade the field, he occupies it and plows it in co-operation with others.

In a complex metropolitan community such as ours, we must learn how to create the contrivances, devices, and techniques necessary to place all available educational and recreational resources, public and private, within an area at the disposal of the people of the community. It is a pioneering job on one of the frontiers of educational advance. It cannot be done well or economically by professional people employed on a part-time basis and paid low-scale wages. It cannot be done with the present type of school plant. Our school plants almost everywhere are years behind our conception of what proper school-community-centered buildings ought to be. We need to study very seriously how to go about training people in the fields of recreation, adult education, and community organization. The services that a good staff can render call for broad abilities as well as narrow technical skills. The public must be convinced that it pays to employ and to train people capable of rendering these services.

The features of an ideal plan of community service call for experimentation and exploration; they require intelligence,

imagination, and good will. The varied approaches described herein are being undertaken at the present time in various parts of the city. As we make headway with buildings, widen our offerings in time and content, we slowly improve the status of our staff and increase the quality and variety of our relations with other city divisions and private agencies.

The returns on a comparatively small investment of money, time, and labor will be great in terms of increased use of school plant for essential community service as well as in terms of intelligent, participating citizenship on the part of children, youths, and adults. Happy family life and a socially healthy community will generate an even greater love for and a desire to serve the neighborhood, the city, and the nation.

Mark A. McCloskey is Director of the Division of Community Education, Board of Education, City of New York.

THE CHURCH AND RECREATION

E. O. Harbin

Recently the chief of police in a midwestern city appeared before the ministerial association and pleaded with the preachers to open their churches for recreational purposes. A conservative group dominated the association and the proposition was turned down. The parting shot of the chief before he stalked out of the meeting was: "All right! Close your churches to the kids, and let them go to hell!"

Fortunately, there is a brighter side to the picture. Never have so many ministers and church workers recognized the important place of recreation in the total program of the church and community. And more churches than ever are doing excellent jobs in providing recreation.

On my desk is a letter from a church in Texas that has just spent more than \$5,000 in remodeling and equipping a room as a

workshop. More than \$3,000 of this amount has been spent for equipment—power machinery, hand tools, and other accessories. A member of the staff is in charge of this workshop. This same church has plans for a new building that include a youth center, a Boy Scout room, a roof garden, a modern kitchen, and equipment and space for dramatics, music, and other recreational activities.

Illustrations like this could be given again and again, a rural church that built a recreation house with volunteer labor, another that built a playground that was used by the community, a small town church with a daily program of recreation under a paid worker; a big city church with a once-a-week hobby night that is conducted for ten or twelve weeks twice a year; another city church with a paid director of dramatics, in addition to a full and varied program of other recreation activities, including a Saturday night "fun night."

If the church is to take the job of providing adequate leisure-time activities seriously, *three things are essential*. It must have a sound philosophy of recreation. It must have an attractive recreation program. It must have intelligent and skilled leadership. This same thing would be true of any other group or agency promoting recreation activities. More harm than good can be done by failure at any one of these points.

The good recreation leader knows *what* he is doing. That is, he understands the implications of recreation for life. Dorothy Canfield Fisher says that "the solution of the problem of leisure is one of the two or three keys without which we shall not be able to open the doors to a decent human future." Here is an instrument of tremendous social significance. The leader who does not understand all that is involved is like a child playing with a gun that he does not know is loaded. Someone is liable to be hurt.

The good recreation leader knows *how* to do what he is doing. Poor performance can kill interest in a good activity.

The good leader knows *why* he is doing what he is doing. His purposes are clear. They tie in with his philosophy. They involve more than "keeping the kiddies off the street." They involve even more than providing "good times."

A sound philosophy for church recreation involves the following items:

1. Recreation must be considered as an integral part of all that the church is trying to do for people. It is no "side show."

2. The conception of recreation must be broadened so as to include much more than the playing of games. It takes in all of the cultural and creative activities that modern recreation leaders are now including in their programs for leisure-time guidance. It includes reading, music, art, drama, the chance to converse with friends, the thrill of a creative hobby, the song of a cardinal, enjoying a lovely sunset, a quiet moment of worship, working in a garden, a trip through the woods, the fellowship of a friendly game, the fun of a sports program, and a thousand other joys.

3. Recreation should be considered as a necessary element in the scheme of living. It therefore becomes essential that one's use of time should be so managed as to include recreation in the schedule. Otherwise life becomes lopsided.

4. Recreation has physical, mental, and moral values that make it an indispensable aid in the church's program.

5. Recreation has a definite service to perform in a machine-dominated world that stifles creativity.

6. Properly conceived and promoted recreation is an effective instrument for developing character and personality.

7. Its value in developing a spirit of friendliness and *esprit de corps* makes it a necessary part of the church's program.

8. Individuals of every age level require normal opportunities for wholesome leisure-time occupation. Denied these opportunities the chances are increased for cheap and harmful recreation getting a strangle hold on the life of the individual and the community.

Therefore, the church program of recreation must include all age groups—children, youth, adults.

9. Recreation is no bait, trap, or "come-on" to attract people to the church. When such use is made of it the highest and best purposes are defeated and the program is cheapened.

10. The church has a responsibility for helping people to make an intelligent use of leisure time. Society, caught in the drive of modern high-pressure living, suffers because of a poverty of ideas of what to do in time not required in making a living. Froth and tinsel are glamourized by those who would make gain out of the people's free time. "The battle is on," said Stuart Chase, "between those people who know something of the high values of life and that high-pressure fraternity that would fill life full of jumping jacks." Therefore, people are confused. They need help. They do not need preachments so much as they need opportunities to practice and taste the things that are good in recreation. Only in this manner can they develop an adequate sense of values. The church, the school, and every agency interested in human welfare must team together to make possible these experiments in abundant living. A scheme of education, either inside or outside of the church, which does not prepare people for this intelligent use of leisure is stupid.

11. There are three reasons why the church must interest itself in community recreation: (1) The members of the church do not grow up in a vacuum. Children, young people, and adults have community contacts that are inescapable. The church must be intelligently concerned, therefore, about what goes on in the community. (2) Then, too, the church's interest in human welfare makes it imperative that it co-operate with other community agencies in providing adequate recreation opportunities of such quality and variety as to meet community needs. (3) The church often has space and equipment that should be made available for community recreation activities, if such space and equipment are

not available elsewhere. As a case in point, Boston Avenue Methodist Church, Tulsa, Oklahoma, has a gymnasium that was used twenty-four hours a day during the war years by community agencies. One swing shift used the gym two o'clock each morning.

Unified action on the part of all agencies in the community will be more effective than isolated efforts. Therefore, the co-operation and co-ordination of the efforts of churches, schools, and civic and private agencies are both desirable and necessary.

12 Juvenile delinquency is becoming an increasingly grave problem. The church, along with other agencies, must do its part in the solution of this problem. Adequate recreation is part of the answer. However, it should be recognized that recreation is no "cure-all." Neither are the youngsters looking for some agency to be a sort of "wet nurse" to them.

We should also be aware of the fact that the delinquency angle is only a part of the total problem of education for leisure, and a small part of the problem at that. The whole matter of enriching life for people by expanding their interests and by increasing their recreation skills is of major concern. Recreation programs must be aimed at this end.

The church is interested in developing a *sound program of recreation*. Such a program would provide a variety of experience in different types of recreation—sports, music, drama, literature, forums, hobbies, nature lore, games, rhythemics, banquets, parties, outdoor activities, etc. It is important that people develop a wide range of leisure-time interests or at least that they become aware of the many possibilities for enjoyment, with some special skill in one or more of them.

Another mark of a sound program would be indicated by giving the properly proportioned emphasis to *core and fringe activities*. Some activities are of more value than others. Some activities are of temporary value and some of permanent value. Interests that grow with you as you grow are in the permanent class. Special

emphasis should be given to those interests that can be carried on with increasing satisfaction as you grow older

In regard to *leadership*, the church as well as other agencies is concerned with four questions: Is it self-effacing? Deliver us from the traffic cop type of leadership. Is it intelligent? Is it competent? Is it concerned with basic motives and attitudes?

To this end the Methodist church is providing recreation workshops and laboratories across the country in the effort to train leaders who have the know-what, know-how, and know-why. In these meetings they discuss the philosophy of recreation and techniques, and develop skills in a wide variety of activities by active participation in them. The results have been gratifying

E O Harbin is a Member of the Board of Education of the Methodist church

RECREATION AND DELINQUENCY

Ben Solomon

It is nonsense to claim that recreation can cure delinquency because there are so many important phases of this subject which, even at its best, recreation can neither touch nor affect. To expect any appreciable reduction in juvenile crime after recreational facilities and agencies are established in a neighborhood may lead to disappointment and failure because youth commits antisocial acts for reasons quite unrelated to the whole field of recreational work.

Recreation Cannot Cure Delinquency

1. In the first place, every study of this whole delinquency question has shown time and time again that highly vulnerable youth, boy or girl—the kind who were born wrong and grew up wrong, and insist on living wrong, those who are headed for reform schools and the penitentiary eventually—*these do not partake of organized* recreation programs. It follows then that no matter how

good the program might be those who do not partake of it cannot possibly be influenced by its values

2 Unlike school attendance which is compulsory, attendance at recreation programs is entirely voluntary. At best it is, therefore, sporadic and of more or less short duration for any single youth.

3. All of these programs necessarily have rules, and the leaders expect the children to live up to them, to have consideration for each other, to co-operate fully and willingly, to exhibit sportsmanship in all their play ways. This is indeed something that anti-social youth cannot or will not do or give.

4. It is quite possible for a recreation program to be a negative influence in some of these vulnerables' lives. Inducing some of these children, especially those who are somewhat abnormal or weaker, one way or another, to partake of the program and to compete on an equal basis with more normal and skillful, more talented children, tends only to increase their sense of frustration. It exposes their incompetence, retards their mental development, something they have already been fighting against, even before they came.

5. These candidates for trouble want many things that a recreation program cannot possibly give them. In the first place, they want to play during hours when schools are open and also at times when they ought to be at home or in bed. Sometimes they want liquor, gambling, sex, money, and lurid, risqué excitement. They want to do as they please without regard to others, keep late and irregular hours, often long after all recreational programs are closed.

6 Youth of this type certainly do not want any kind of supervision. They fear teachers or leaders who know what they are thinking, planning, or doing. They expect to live by their wits, in secretive fashion, and do not want anyone to observe their actions or learn their plans.

7. Many of these youth are dull-witted, in the lower mentality bracket, or are emotionally unstable or physically faulty. Although recreation has some values for these youth, various other highly specialized medical and psychiatric services are needed.

8. In the final analysis, the director or leader of such programs does not want this type in his program because it is not good for the other children, and it does present a difficult discipline problem.

8. Most private recreation agencies, like the Y.M.H.A., C.Y.O., Y.M.C.A., and others are sectarian. Some exclude Negroes or Mexican-Americans, etc. Some of them have expensive buildings and facilities to maintain and support, which means membership and activities fees that the very poor cannot afford. Since they are privately supported by voluntary contributors, they have neither the compulsion nor the responsibility and sometimes no inclination to do a delinquency-prevention job among the very poor and the very needy.

10. Of course, recreational programs in general of all types do not have the specialized services, equipment, facilities, or personnel to meet many of the needs of vulnerable children. That is specifically a job for other agencies in other fields of work.

11. So many factors, so many abnormal conditions and harmful pressures surround our highly vulnerable potential delinquents. There is indeed little that recreation, even at its best, can do directly for children who have parents who are a menace to their welfare, children who come from poverty-stricken homes, who suffer from bad heredity, who live in atrocious neighborhoods where vice is protected by crooked politics, where many crime-breeding "hot spots" are allowed to flourish because of lax law enforcement.

But Recreation Can Help

Here follows a list of the many ways in which recreational

programs can affect vulnerable children for good, thus helping to reduce delinquency.

1. A program that creates and spreads joy, happiness, and laughter among children is in itself a potent influence for mental, physical, and emotional health.

2. Granted that many of the really needy ones do not partake of the programs, there are a large number of children who do. These, not the worst in the land and certainly not the best, include many who might easily be misled into antisocial ways. Under the influence of good leadership in an organized play group they are just as easily led into a more social program.

3. Recreation programs tend to take children off the streets, and every minute they are out from under the speeding traffic and away from the physical and moral hazards of the neighborhood, they are safe in a constructive, skill-teaching program.

4. Every skill a child learns, every chance he has to excel in something, to "shine," is a big step toward his own self-satisfaction, toward a feeling of security and adequacy, toward becoming a conventional, social being.

5. If recreation programs could attract the children when they are very young, especially under ten years of age, a larger number of the highly vulnerable ones could be steered right.

6. Recreation is particularly valuable in those towns and areas, rural and urban, where youth has the legitimate complaint that "there ain't nothin' to do and what there is ain't decent."

7. Coeducation programs in the teen ages are particularly valuable and needed from thirteen years of age and up. These must be conducted by professionals who not only know recreational activities but also know what teen-agers think, want, and should have.

8. Recreation is a program through which a leader can establish contact with potential delinquents, cultivate their confidence, and influence their behavior and ideals. A good leader does this

not only through the activities but through the influence of his own character, personality, and example.

Recreation Might Do a Better Delinquency-Prevention Job

1. *If we had more of them without costs.* The biggest single shortcoming of recreation in general is the fact that these programs are numerically inadequate. We need them especially in slum areas of great economic need, in neighborhoods where there are lots of children and no recreational facilities, and particularly where there are plenty of highly vulnerable youth from minority groups. We need a large expansion of recreation facilities that cost very little or nothing at all, that have no admission charges, membership or registration fees, uniform, literature, or equipment costs.

2. *If we had all-year-round programs.* Just as delinquency occurs all year round in all seasons, so must our recreation programs be organized—all year round, indoors and outdoors.

3. *If we could interest the "stay-aways."* If recreation executives on the policy-making level are really concerned with doing a delinquency-prevention job, they must create a practical plan to service those vulnerable youth who do not come into their buildings, centers, playgrounds, etc. This large number of boys and girls who stay away, who refuse to partake of the programs, and, certainly, who need recreation values the most are the very ones with whom we can show the best results, if they can be brought into the program. Here we must use the finest, the most practical leaders obtainable. These leaders must go out into the highways and byways, the alleys, the docks, the cellars, the dives, and the honkey-tonks, wherever vulnerable youth congregate, to make their contacts. There are three ways to interest such youth

a) Of course, there are varying degrees of aloofness among these stay-aways, and after gaining their confidence some of them may be induced to come to the club or center to try the program.

Team games, the gymnasium, a swimming pool, a dance with a live orchestra, a real boxing ring—these are genuine lures for many stay-aways. Whenever contacting a group, it is well to try to “sell” the idea to the group’s leader or “bell cow” before talking to any of the others.

b) Sometimes it is advisable to create small branch recreation centers right out in the local neighborhood or street where the group likes to play, using an empty store, a vacant lot, a loft, or a garage to which equipment and leadership are brought as needed.

c) Through the use of a large van or similar vehicle, a mobile recreational unit can be sent out into more or less distant but needy areas. Such a mobile unit might carry motion-picture equipment, juke-box music and an amplifying system for dancing and singing, a portable boxing ring, a stage, and maybe other recreational equipment.

4. If we had superior leadership. It is of the utmost importance to realize that the leader doing this type of field work must be superior in many directions. Quite a different set of talents and methods must be used in bringing recreation out into the local areas and in interesting stay-aways than would be needed back in the base clubhouse. Here, particularly, could be used that type of indigenous leadership which has come up from the ranks. No amount of professional training can compensate for the aloofness which is exhibited toward that leader who has not lived as those whom he would like to lead have lived. Those stay-aways are better and more easily led by one who perhaps has been of their own kind.

5. If teen-age programs were glamourized. Youth, in general, boys in particular, like to have a “hangout”—some place where they can meet the gang, are welcome, comfortable and warm in winter. Soft lights, colored decorations, tables at which to “chin” and lounge, “eats” of any kind and soft drinks, all at low prices, help a lot. If a telephone-message center is established in this

lounge, a place where they can make dates, receive telephone calls, and, particularly, have someone take the transmitted messages for them when they are not there, the place would jump into popularity overnight. Music via the juke box for dancing, with possibly a live orchestra now and then, an attractive entrance way or lobby, and a warm personal welcome by someone in charge will help tremendously.

6. *If we had more programs for little girls.* There should be a big expansion of facilities and programs for very poor, very needy little girls, five to ten years of age. This seems to be a neglected group and an area in which a large amount of delinquency prevention could be done. When the good work of a community saves a boy from becoming delinquent, one boy is saved and that is an excellent thing. But if the same good work saves one little girl of this type the chances are that a whole family of boys and girls (a few years later) are saved. These little girls from the wrong side of the tracks are the very ones who select their husbands by low standards, marry early, and have the largest families on the lowest incomes. When they are between five and ten years of age they are highly amenable to good recreation leadership, can be taught many skills, might not marry so early later on, and may choose their husbands by higher standards.

7. *If we really gave recreation an adequate trial.* The preventive possibilities of good recreation programs with really good leadership have not yet been fully probed. So very little has been spent on recreational efforts that it can hardly be said to have been fairly tried.

TRENDS IN MUNICIPAL RECREATION

George Hjelte

After the First World War recreation was often said to be the latest addition to the family of municipal functions. It was a robust child with healthy vocal powers crying out for recognition yet not accorded a place among the "adult" functions which had long-established places in local affairs.

Today municipal recreation has hardly achieved the age of maturity but it is certainly in adolescence and on the threshold of full acceptance. It has demonstrated its powers, it has proved its right to belong, it will soon become one of the pillars of municipal integrity.

Two or three decades ago the provision of playgrounds for children and the supervision of the play of youth was considered to be the proper diversion for social dilettantes. Elected public officials gave lip service to the cause. At election time it was good campaign strategy to advocate more parks and playgrounds and to bemoan the rising tide of juvenile delinquency, sentimentally considered to be nothing more than "play gone wrong"; but little initiative was taken by elected officers to translate campaign pledges into action; there were no well-considered plans; there was no expert guidance—nobody knew what constituted a reasonable fulfillment of municipal responsibility in this new field.

Now recreation is the concern of statesmen. When the existence of the nation was at stake in the second world conflict, recreation was made a function of command and given unstinted support with material and personnel; it was no longer accepted as something to be attended to by nonmilitary agencies. States have surveyed their recreational resources and have begun to organize them. Governors have urged the establishment of state recreation agencies. Local elected officials less frequently than formerly have

to be cajoled to make niggardly appropriations for picayunish projects inconsistent with proper dignity in public work. They now say, "Tell us what should be done, give us a plan that is challenging and well conceived, and we will seek the means to accomplish it." The elected official has sensed, if he has not fully understood, the vital importance of well-ordered recreation in the local community, and often he is way out in front of the professional recreational personnel in his vision of practical accomplishment and planning for the future in this field of public welfare.

Early concepts of municipal responsibility in relation to recreation were almost totally in terms of places. There must be parks, beaches, playfields, playgrounds. Now a functional concept is more in evidence. There must be recreation, youth activities, leisure-time guidance; there must be civic art and music. The function of a municipal department is not solely to acquire, improve, and maintain places of recreation but to organize the community for better recreation. The place is incidental to its use.

Some cities have inclined to a change of name for the municipal department most nearly responsible for recreation, preferring the functional name "Recreation Department" to that of "Department of Parks" or "Department of Playgrounds." Los Angeles effected a consolidation of its Playground and Recreation and its Park Department last spring but couldn't bring itself to the full functional merger in name at least and called its new department the Department of Recreation and Parks. Baltimore also by popular vote consolidated its community recreation agency and its Park Department under the name Department of Recreation and Parks. Many smaller cities have given increased status to the recreational function. In one state the number of cities which have vested the recreation function in an official body, usually a recreation commission, and which have employed a year-round, professionally trained executive to administer the program of municipal recreation has increased from 15 in 1935 to 105 in 1947. But a decade or

two ago, when local interest in recreation indicated some action on the part of a municipality, it consisted of the addition of a recreational specialist to a public-welfare, a public-works, or a park-maintenance department. Now the tendency is to create an agency with power to comprehend the whole problem of recreation and not merely to render a delimited service. Usually the agency is named "Recreation Commission." The name is important, for public agencies no less than persons and institutions incline to live up to their names.

The fact that cities continue to depend upon lay commissions to guide local recreation policy rather than vest full responsibility in an employed executive is not without great significance. It means that recreation is a field of public concern where democratic policy-making rather than merely smooth efficient administration is the paramount problem. It suggests that the recreational function is in the planning stage and that it is a promotive as well as an administrative function. It must be kept close to the people; hence the people are accorded a direct medium for influencing its policy rather than an indirect one through a top elective body responsible for a multitude of municipal functions. In respect to its special character, it is similar to education, library service, and city planning.

Cities are beginning to think of recreation as a necessary universal service for all citizens. In earlier days, playgrounds were considered important only in neighborhoods of great congestion and of relatively low economic status. People in more favored residential neighborhoods wanted no public playgrounds. They considered that their homes were adequate to their needs. They were aware of no community problem that they could not solve by voluntary co-operative effort. No doubt today, with one third of the population changing residence annually, there is less neighborhood consciousness and co-operative endeavor and there is greater leisure; hence even people in favored districts want public

recreation service. A recreation commission is likely now to receive more pressure to provide service in such neighborhoods than elsewhere. These people are more adept in giving expression to their needs. The problem in the city, therefore, becomes one of providing recreation areas, equipment, and programs for all the people.

Certain public services have long possessed this universal character, and local government is organized to provide them. Wherever there are residences or industries there are streets and roads; wherever people reside there is fire protection, police protection, administration of justice. One can hardly say as much for public recreation service, but the consummation of such an ideal is not far off. To bring this about new laws are required. Recreation agencies must be given the means of establishing recreation facilities wherever they are needed. There must be enough of a total program of public recreation to enable the responsible agency to distribute its services so that all may enjoy them.

The continued building of new urban residential communities without provision of open spaces for future recreation development must stop. Areas should be set aside for eventual if not immediate use when a subdivision is laid out just as streets are dedicated. Much has been written on this subject but heretofore too great dependence has been placed upon the generosity of subdividers of real estate. Mandatory dedication of recreation areas has been considered unconstitutional; however, what is held unconstitutional in one era is not so held in another. Chicago apparently has pointed the way by enacting a local ordinance requiring the dedication of not to exceed 10 per cent of the subdivided plot.

Public recreation thus becomes an objective of city planning. City planners have heretofore been largely preoccupied with problems of urban transportation and zoning. Now they are addressing themselves to problems of urban redevelopment, including slum

clearance, and to the preparation of master plans for comprehensive neighborhood, city, and metropolitan planning. "Master plans" are more than pretty pictures prepared by visionary planners: they are controlling patterns for future development. They must inevitably include patterns for comprehensive development of recreation areas based on the concept of universal service and including neighborhood, district, and regional areas and facilities for recreation. Notable examples of such planning are furnished by New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, Cambridge, and a score of other cities.

Municipal recreation is, of course, recreation that is under the control of local government. This, however, is but a part of the total organized recreation of any urban community. Public schools provide extensive recreation programs for children and youth. There is a tendency for communities to depend more and more upon their public educational agencies for community recreation services. Community supported but nongovernmental youth-serving agencies contribute programs, leadership, and facilities. No city is well organized for community recreation which does not have co-operative understandings between the municipal agencies, the educational authorities, and the private youth-serving agencies and effective co-ordination of all in the interests of a well-integrated program of recreation service. Throughout the country there is an unmistakable trend toward such unification of effort. This alone is an evidence of competent administration and maturity of organization.

George Hjelle is General Manager of the Department of Recreation and Parks, City of Los Angeles

EDUCATING FOR LEISURE IN PRIVATE AGENCIES

Harold T. Frierhood

Creative education places emphasis upon the total personality. It seeks to provide all-around experience and avoid compartmentalization or segmented experience. Private agencies operate according to numerous patterns, but they are concerned basically with the creative education of individuals as persons and with groups as social forces. Such agencies make their contributions to the education and interaction of individuals and groups chiefly during the leisure time of the constituents. In dealing very briefly with the stake that private agencies have in the total task of educating for worthy use of leisure, three questions are here discussed and a set of principles are presented.

Why Are Private Agencies Needed in a Democratic Society?

Private agencies provide balance, serve many divergent and specific interests, and help focus attention upon the rights and responsibilities of individuals and groups. They provide an opportunity to "belong." They give their "members" an opportunity to participate in the management of the enterprise. Members are encouraged to pass judgments and make appraisals. In a democratic society continuous effort is needed to maintain an atmosphere in which freedom of choice and actual personal liberty may operate. This must function within a framework of group endeavor that is guided by agreed-upon general principles of social advance.

What Are the Distinguishing Characteristics of Private Agencies?

Private-voluntary (as contrasted with public-governmental) agencies have distinguishing characteristics and need to describe their specific functions in relation to other agencies and the com-

munity as a whole. These characteristics have been variously described in relation to method of financial support, selective basis of securing and maintaining a constituency, certain aims and objectives, methods of work, type of leadership, prestige, traditions, and background. It might be the provision of certain programs or facilities that have not been otherwise available, or perhaps the use of appraisals that take account of outcomes in particular ways.

Closely related to these distinguishing characteristics are the groupings or types of private agencies. Some are classified on the basis of age of members, the youth-serving agencies (Y W C.A., Y.M.C.A., and others); by sex (Boys' Clubs, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Campfire Girls); by nationality, racial, or cultural groups; by type of program (health activities, sports, handicraft, social or cultural activities, outdoor or indoor, aquatic, land or air programs), making things or doing things; by method of work (individual, group, or mass activities); by religious or secular emphases, by voluntary or paid leadership.

Nongovernmental organizations are numerous. A directory prepared by the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education describes 320 service organizations devoted largely to youth.

Some 80 to 85 youth organizations, composed predominately of youths themselves, were classified by Sproul as follows.

- General character-building organizations
- Roman Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant church youth organizations
- College student associations
- Patriotic, political, fraternal, and labor groups
- Agricultural and rural groups
- Educational associations
- Guidance and employment groups
- Recreational organizations
- Temperance, peace, and other special groups

All of these are membership organizations and provide more than simply services. They expect certain responsibility (financial and other) with some continuity of affiliation.

Such diversity in organization and service demands clear identification of functions in relation with other agencies and the community as a whole. While it is true that only 25 per cent of the 12,000 communities in America of 5,000 population and over show definite evidence of working co-operatively through councils and committees for community planning, the social-welfare agencies have made the greatest progress, have the best leadership, well-documented experience, and the largest budgets. Private agencies have made great contributions through such councils locally as well as at the national level.

In What Types of Leisure-Time Education May Private Agencies Engage?

There are many and various private agencies that concern themselves with human welfare. They exist because of voluntary affiliation and participation on the part of people who choose to do so without compulsion. The range of activities that can be carried on through private agencies to achieve these ends in the leisure time of persons is wide and varied. Members are not generally considered the recipients of service but are copartners in many enterprises that appear to have value and worth. It is becoming common practice to provide larger opportunities for members of all ages and backgrounds to gain experience and participate in program and responsible policy-making procedures. This is what Barzun had in mind when he said, "A man should not say, 'I live in a democracy,' but, 'I experienced democracy last Tuesday afternoon.'"

If as some say the marks of education for leisure as well as livelihood in a democracy are the abilities to think, read, write, speak, listen, play, and live harmoniously with others, then private

agencies are pulling a strong oar in this process. Such private agency programs as Hi-Y education in youth and government now operating in nearly half the states and climaxed by model legislatures in the state capitals (a similar youth citizenship program is conducted by the American Legion), youth adult programs in numerous private agencies leading to friendships, courtships, and marriages that have a high percentage of success (in the face of general divorce statistics that show rising curves), intercultural activities of many kinds, and world understanding through far-flung agency relationships spanning many countries—all support and give validity to the efforts of a Federal Government that is working through a United Nations for many of the same ends.

As a step in the direction of living and working together more effectively and co-operatively the following eleven principles are proposed in relation to the broad field of recreation, adopted from a study conducted by Dr. Helen E. Davis.

Some Principles of Relationships Between Private and Public Recreation Agencies

1. Private agencies should encourage the development of public recreation in accord with sound standards of organization, equipment, and operation.
2. Private agencies may well co-operate in the initiation of public recreation by conducting or co-operating in the conduct of activities that properly should become the responsibility of public agencies.
3. Private agencies should withdraw from the operation of activities for the general public, as public agencies become able to provide them satisfactorily and adequately.
4. Private agencies may, however, properly continue for their own constituencies activities similar to those provided by public agencies if such activities constitute an important part of more continuous or more comprehensive group programs.
5. In the division of labor between the private agencies and public recreational agencies, private agencies should recognize their primary

responsibility normally to be to the constituency that is attracted by the distinctive purposes and programs of the various private agencies.

6 When public recreational agencies have acquired facilities suitable for private-agency activities, one of the major relationships that is desirable and in the public interest is the utilization of such facilities by the private agencies as far as feasible for service to groups in its constituency, upon terms that are mutually agreeable.

7 Private agencies should co-operate with the public agencies by encouraging private-agency groups to participate in activities of the latter that fit into the ongoing programs of the groups, by participating in joint activities having a mutual interest, and by uniting with the public agencies in advancing the recreational interests of the community.

8 Private agencies should encourage the co-ordination of the services of all recreational agencies, public and private, especially by means of voluntary councils of social agencies.

9. Private agencies should encourage and participate in community planning of a total program of recreational services, based upon a common objective consistent with the private agencies' purposes, and upon the use of dependable criteria in the analysis of needs, in the evaluation of activities, and in the division of responsibility among agencies.

10 There may come occasions when private agencies, as champions of the interests of youth (or other particular groups), should bring their influence to bear, along with other agencies, upon public recreational agencies for the purpose of securing high standards in regard to personnel and operation.

11. The ability of private agencies to co-operate with public agencies in the manner and degree here indicated, and to provide their reasonable share of comprehensive community programs of recreation, will depend upon their securing adequate contribution income, in most cases through community chests, that are much greater than those now generally available.

Private agencies should be used by educators as laboratories to test methods and develop standards that may be later applied more widely. The leadership and initiative of the best educators are needed in private agencies. Some private agencies offer group

affiliations, facilities, and programs that will be of personal value to educators. In a democracy individuals need to learn how to get along with one another, feel at ease in the company of others, and have pleasant relationships. Through such associations, a new sense of mission is developed, through pleasurable activities of a social, physical, cultural, or worshipful nature persons re-create and refresh themselves. As Limbert says, "We may use the term 'society' for those forms of human relationship which arise from cooperating to gain common economic and social ends. We may reserve the term 'community' for those groupings based upon inherent needs for companionship. Politics is concerned with society; religion, with community. The political association is compulsive; the state is an organization for the enforcement of law. On the other hand, religion draws men together in a voluntary association based not on a calculation of interest but on an inherent desire for fellowship."

It is this "community" of human interests, yearnings, and aspirations that are nurtured through private agencies. These are the things that are essential to a democracy. They must be preserved by those who are educated to appreciate and enjoy them.

Harold F. Fierman is Senior Secretary for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, National Board, National Council of Y M C A 's.

WHAT PLACE SHOULD THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ASSUME IN THE TOTAL RECREATION PROGRAM?

G. Ott Romney

It is both the history and the genius of the American democracy that whenever anything affects importantly the lives of all the people the Federal Government accepts the challenge and the responsibility to dignify the particular cause and need and to place itself at the service of the people, lending the stimulation, guidance, and assistance compatible with our form of government and

desired by the states and the people within them. Recreation in the sense of the pleasant and profitable use of leisure time and as a satisfaction of fundamental human appetites and a basic factor in balanced and enriched personal, community, and national life has been recognized beyond dispute as an essential segment of the life process. It plays an intimate and significant role in the lives of all men, women, and children. It knows no favorite season or geographical location or age group or sex. It is universal in the scheme of things and therefore a common concern.

In a highly mechanized era in which slavery to machines is as general and obvious and significant as man's mastery over them, in an era of high specialization in business, profession, and vocation, in a period of materialistic philosophy, in the present gadget-worshiping day when science and invention are manufacturing faster than any other product a rapidly increasing leisure time, it becomes apparent that recreation claims social, economic, and political significance of such dimensions that the community cannot fail to accept its obligation to provide full opportunity for decent and even enriched living, off-the-job and out-of-school, for all its citizens; the state cannot turn its back on its important responsibility and the Federal Government cannot be deaf to the clamor of the people for appropriate guidance and assistance nor untrue to the Declaration of Independence which shouts out the sanctity of "certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the *PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS*"

As the magic of modern transportation and communication continues to shrink the globe, as men of affairs breakfast at Los Angeles and have dinner the same day in New York or find their sleep one night in New York and the next in London, as the air waves carry Bob Hope, the Philadelphia Philharmonic, the Army-Notre Dame football game, *One Man's Family*, American Forum of the Air, and *Superman* into the living room of the secluded farmhouse and the miner's shack as readily as the swank

drawing room of the metropolis, and as the motion pictures educate the country girls in the latest Hollywood hardos and the college-campus idiom as early and effectively as their city cousins, people everywhere become neighbors and common denominators become apparent in human interests in the living of lives. Year by year it becomes easier and more effective and more necessary to bring guidance and aid, happily conceived, readily adapted, and pertinently applicable, to the communities through their states. The role of the Federal Government becomes more apparent and more understandable.

The Federal Government has for three quarters of a century recognized a responsibility in providing recreation for the people. Its first formal gesture was in 1864 when Congress passed an act granting Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Big Tree Grove to the State of California for public recreation use. Yellowstone National Park Service was established in 1872. It was not until 1916, however, that the National Park Service as a separate bureau in the Department of Interior was established by an act of Congress signed by President Wilson. The rich contribution of the National Park Service to the recreation life of the people is well understood. The United States Forest Service has likewise performed a valiant recreation service in helping man, naturally an outdoor animal, overcome or balance the "indoorism" forced upon him by the complexity of modern civilization. The Fish and Wildlife Service of the United States Department of the Interior, although not promoting a recreation program in the usual sense, helps fill a real recreation need and contributes to the recreation satisfactions of the people. The Office of Education of the Federal Security Agency recognizes recreation responsibilities and both directly and indirectly serves the schools, and, through the school, in several ways, the total community. The Department of Agriculture through its Extension Service, particularly in the specific area of activity of the far-flung Four-H clubs, provides significant

recreation service for the rural areas. The interest of the Children's Bureau in recreation service is *prima facie*. During the war the Army, the Navy, and the Air Corps have found the provision of adequate recreation opportunity an essential service and have prepared to continue the assumption of recreation responsibility during peacetime.

Recently the Inter-Agency Recreation Committee idea, tried previously as a logical and desirable meshing of the co-operative services of the federal agencies interested in this field, has been revived. At present the following agencies are represented on the Federal Inter-Agency Committee on Recreation; Extension Service, United States Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, United States Department of Agriculture; National Park Service, Department of the Interior, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior; Office of Education, Federal Security Agency, Children's Bureau, Federal Security Agency.

But one field of recreation service—and that the keystone of the public recreation structure and certainly basic if not the most important of all the areas as the leisure-time problem asserts its growing demands—remains bereft of federal assistance. That service concerns community recreation. Community recreation is a special area. It belongs intimately and inviolably to the people of the neighborhood and the group of neighborhoods which make up communities. It is provided by a great team of recreation services including those with a tax-supported base (the municipalities, the counties, and the schools), private (voluntary) agencies, the churches, the civic, patriotic, and fraternal clubs, and commercial enterprises. As towns and cities recognize the community recreation responsibility and commence to establish sound recreation systems with a tax-supported base or nucleus, or seek to expand and strengthen their present systems, they naturally look to their states and through their states to the Federal Government for technical and advisory services in connection with the total recrea-

tion problems and resources; information, research, and publication services; and leadership services in the development of recreation plans and policies. The movement toward establishment of state governmental branches concerned solely with recreation and the strengthening and vitalizing of already existing recreation units in state governments is gaining tremendous momentum. However, the states themselves quite generally feel a need for nourishment and guidance from the Federal Government, for the establishment of a clearinghouse and for recreation services on the state's request to the political subdivisions of the state.

In recognition of this tremendous and growing need on the part of the 15,000 to 20,000 communities of the nation's 48 states, a bill was introduced in the Senate in April 1946 "to authorize the Federal Security Administrator to assist the states in the development of community recreation programs for the people of the United States . . ."

While this bill, passed by the special committee, did not come to a vote in the rush of major issues before the Seventy-ninth Congress, it has been widely discussed over the nation, endorsed by an imposing array of national recreation leaders and national groups concerned with recreation, and is being revived by the Senate committee for proposed consideration at the next Congressional session. In the meantime the American Recreation Society has drafted a similar bill, designed to establish precisely the same kind of service. The Senate bill to which reference is made, as well as the proposed bill suggested by the American Recreation Society, would establish in addition to the technical and advisory services a national recreation advisory board to be appointed by the Administrator of the Federal Security Agency in whose official family the community recreation assistance services would be included. This board would be inclusive of a broad representation of the recreation interests of the country, including federal officials.

While the bill does not have the unanimous support of professional recreation ranks, the growing need for assistance to communities through their states and of the states themselves seems generally accepted. Certainly community recreation has been recognized as a separate field which is not now nourished by the Federal Government and by its very nature claims a priority in assistance. Such a federal bureau added to the already existing Federal Government agencies concerned with special areas of recreation (each of which is dedicated by law and by experience, appetite, and appropriations to a very special though highly essential field and is not assigned or adapted to the community recreation area) would doubtless be welcome to the official family and would deserve the tribute which Howard Braucher, president of the National Recreation Association, pays the existing bureau when he says in the February 1947 issue of *Recreation*, "Many who know the long established federal bureaus that work in the recreation field, know that they have deep, strong roots, the result of years of growth. The criticisms that have been made against many of the federal bureaus have not much been leveled at these particular agencies. Many know the fine spirit in which the workers in these agencies approach their tasks. No one has suggested that workers in the best private agencies have a finer spirit."

At the conclusion of the same editorial Mr. Braucher says, "Citizens of the United States can well be proud of what their national government is now doing in recreation through these bureaus, but still larger tasks are open to them for the future."

And, may we add, the citizens of the United States will recognize the need for other services, particularly a community recreation service, and will take the same sort of pride in what their nation is doing through the new bureau which rounds out what the national government is doing in recreation. As Watson Miller, former administrator of the Federal Security Agency, asserts in concluding a statement entitled "The Concern of the Federal

Security Agency for Recreation," "There is nothing so powerful as an idea when its time has come. Recreation needs to be viewed in the large and the whole is more than the sum of its separate parts. I believe in the future of our people and in the part that recreation will play in molding that future. The time to make a beginning is now."

Recreation is definitely a Federal Government concern. And a community recreation service is requisite to the fulfillment of the Federal Government's obligation

G. Ott Romney is Dean of the School of Physical Education and Athletics, West Virginia University

STATE'S RESPONSIBILITY TO LOCAL COMMUNITIES

Harold D. Meyer

The growth of recreation throughout the nation, its importance in modern life, the social significance of its value, and the widespread emphasis of its proper use indicate the prominent place it possesses in the well-being of the democracy. Every trend on the social horizon recognizes the fact that it will have a more important place tomorrow than it does today.

All of this adds up to the fact that state governments must recognize this situation. As they have accepted social responsibility for assistance and guidance in fields of education, health, public welfare, conservation, and other human and natural resources, they *must now* enter the field of recreation, not only for special services, but for general encouragement of adequate and wholesome recreation for the masses of the people, as individuals and as groups in the local community. In practically every state, every service on the county, district, and municipal levels has its counterpart at the state level with the exception of recreation. This gap should be filled

Recreation as a function of state government is not new. There is sufficient precedent to satisfy any doubt on this point. The expanding use of state parks and forests for recreation, game-preserve regulations, hunting and fishing privileges, and camping facilities offer abundant evidence to substantiate state responsibility. The extracurricular activities of the school, for children and youth, and the numerous aids furnished by library agencies are significant. A number of the extension divisions and departments in our land grant universities and colleges sponsor a variety of activities. All of these services have been functioning for many years in many states and the sum total results afford a major contribution to recreation. It must be noted, however, that the emphasis in each case has been in the field of a specialized service and little interest manifested in assisting general community recreation.

Emergency activities on the part of the Federal Government through the Works Project Administration during the period of depression, the office of Civilian Defense in the time of national stress and the activities of the Federal Security Agency, the Federal Works Agency, and military authorities while at war offer effective illustrations of services through the states to the local communities. These programs did much to establish the background and set the stage for future organization on the state level.

The challenge of Recreation to the states has created national interest. There appears to be unanimity of opinion that the service to the local community should be rendered. There is considerable discussion and opinion in regard to how the state should serve the local units. Three questions stand out in these developments: where should the service be placed? What should be the administrative organization? What should constitute the field of services? At the present time there are wide differences of opinion regarding all three factors. However, definite trends are evident and definite patterns are shaping

In the light of these facts and through years of study and experience with the situation, the writer stands firm in the following opinions in regard to the state's responsibility to local communities in the field of recreation.

1 That the states need managing authorities to cope with the growing field of community recreation in all of its aspects.

2 That it is safe to assume that because of the contributions that emergency state recreation services have made to the progress of community recreation a precedent has been established which is leading to the continuation of state recreation on a permanent basis

3. That while a few state agencies have had partial interest in providing recreation services or facilities over a period of years, it is a fact that state assistance aimed entirely at developing total community recreation programs is new.

4 That in the urgent need to give recreation official status and prestige, there is increased evidence to favor the establishment of separate state agencies to do the job. Recreation is important enough to be recognized in its own right and its own pattern of authority and organization

Suggestions have been made and followed to place recreation service under state boards of education, state departments of public welfare, state planning boards, and departments of conservation and development. Some states, due to statutory limitations, are compelled to put all new governmental functions under some existing agency. While it is absolutely true that recreation can function within any of these agencies, the arguments against doing so strongly outweigh any advantages. The points pro and con are ably presented in a leaflet, *Recreation—A New Function of State Government*, written by Charles K. Brightbill.¹

The North Carolina Recreation Commission was established in March 1945, the Vermont Recreation Board became a perma-

¹ Washington, D. C. Federal Security Agency

nent state agency in March 1947, and California legalized a State Recreation Commission in July 1947. These three agencies create a new pattern for recreation on the state level. They represent the first forces within state government giving recreation full-time attention and assuming as an essential function service to local communities.

A separate and independent agency can give full thought and attention to its responsibilities and duties. There need be no fear on the part of existing agencies that any existing authorities be interfered with; on the contrary, the separate agencies can work in co-operation with the other agencies and assist in enriching each program and service. Legal protection can guarantee these rights.

In regard to the administrative setup, the North Carolina plan is offered for consideration. It has been functioning for three years and its program is working most successfully

On March 19, 1945, the General Assembly of North Carolina ratified S. B. No. 140, "An Act to create a State Recreation Commission." The commission is composed of seven appointed and four *ex-officio* members. The Governor, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Commissioner of Public Welfare and head of the Department of Conservation and Development constitute the *ex-officio* members. The seven appointed members are laymen who are keenly interested in recreation. The members serve for six-year terms, except that initial appointments were staggered to provide for yearly appointments to fill vacancies.

In addition to the commission, the establishing act provides for a Recreation Advisory Committee of thirty members. These members are appointed for two years. They are selected according to special recreation interests in activities and from groups.

In addition there is a group of *Ex-Officio* Consultants to the Commission and the Advisory Committee composed of ten representatives of state governmental agencies, six representatives of federal agencies, and four representatives of national agencies.

Members of the Recreation Advisory Committee are encouraged to organize subcommittees in their respective fields of activities or interest. The commission itself meets four times yearly, the fall meeting being held jointly with the Recreation Advisory Committee, consultants, and the North Carolina Recreation Society (a state society of professional recreation people), making it possible to hold a truly representative State Recreation Conference each fall.

The commission employs the staff now composed of a director, assistant director, two field representatives, and three secretaries.

Individual states can accept the general pattern of a separate agency and then build an administrative structure adaptable to local conditions and situations. The Vermont and California plans offer additional patterns.

The future value of any state recreation authority will in the last analysis depend upon the services rendered to the citizenry. In presenting the program the following general principles should be followed:

1. That anything and everything done should be based on the local level—the enrichment and advancement of recreation in local communities
2. That interest should be centered in a program that incorporates full participation of all the people—children, youths, adults, and elders, folk of all economic and social status and of all races
3. That stress be given to the utilization of the talents of the people and natural resources in the development of facilities and activities
4. That the program function through all types of agencies—public, private, and commercial—the sum total of which brings adequate and constructive activities
5. That recreation be recognized as an essential force in the life of the people of the state and be found in proper proportions and correlated with community organization

The North Carolina act lists the following duties and powers of the commission:

1. *Duties of the commission*

a) To study and appraise recreation needs of the state and to assemble and disseminate information relative to recreation.

b) To co-operate in the promotion and organization of local recreation system for counties, municipalities, townships, and other political subdivisions of the state, to aid them in designing and laying out recreational areas and facilities, and to advise them in the planning and financing of recreation programs.

c) To aid in recruiting, training, and placing recreation workers, and promote recreation institutes and conferences.

d) To establish and promote recreation standards

e) To co-operate with state and federal agencies, the recreation Advisory Committee, private membership groups, and with commercial recreation interests in the promotion of recreation opportunities.

f) To submit a biennial report of its activities to the governor

2. *Powers of the commission*

a) To make rules and regulations for the proper administration of its duties

b) To accept any grant of funds made by the United States, or any agency thereof, for the purpose of carrying out any of its functions

c) To accept gifts, bequests, devices, and endowments. The funds, if given as an endowment, shall be invested in such securities as designated by the donor, or, if there is no designation, in those in which the State Sinking Fund may be invested. All such gifts, bequests, devices, and all proceeds from such invested endowments shall be used for carrying out the purpose for which they are made.

d) To administer all funds available to the commission.

e) To act jointly, when advisable, with any other state agency, institution, department, board, or commission in order to carry out the recreation commission's objectives and responsibilities. No activity of the commission, however, shall be allowed to interfere with the work of any other state agency.

f) To employ an executive director, and, upon the recommendation of the executive director, such other persons as may be needed to carry out the provisions of this act. The executive director shall act as secretary to the commission. The staff carries out the duties and powers in action throughout the state.

The chief function is to aid each community in doing its own job by advice and help rather than supervision or authoritative control. It is as simple as that and the story of possibilities and realities of action offer to all recreation a stimulating and vigorous story of progress. The state's responsibility to local communities is to assist in bringing more abundant and wholesome recreation to the masses of the people.

Harold D. Meyer is Director of the North Carolina Recreation Commission.

WHY OUTDOOR AND CAMPING EDUCATION?

Lloyd B. Sharp

Why has education been slow in using the outdoors to implement classroom study? Why should outdoor and camping education be established? How should it be done?

At one period in the early development of our country, it was decided that our democracy could not survive and grow unless the country was composed of literate people. Thus education became a cornerstone of our democracy—free education, a free people. At that time formal education was largely a matter of mind training—learning to read, write, and figure.

As new needs arose, more subjects were added. The pattern for broadening the curriculum was set. With the period of industrialization and expansion, more and more people congregated in the cities, adding to the complexity of city life and creating new social and economic problems. Our country is now over 75 per cent urbanized, making it difficult and in most cases practically impossible for people to have much direct contact with basic realities of life. In the congested centers and indeed in all parts of our country, made up of various races and creeds, the demands upon education for contributing to a more workable democracy are great. It requires *more* than literacy to meet the demands of our present-day society. If we are to preserve and extend our freedom, the two basic qualities of *understanding* and *self-reliance* must be developed within each individual and far more effectively and quickly than at present.

To accomplish this, our present system of education must be more realistic. There is no necessity for the twenty-eight or more million school youths to spend most of their time within the walls of school buildings when much of our education can be secured more effectively in the outdoors by dealing directly with the environment and real life.

Outdoor experience and camping are justified as a part of the curriculum because of their health and recreation values, but there are more basic reasons. It has been proved in educational research that *we learn most through direct experience, we learn faster, the learnings are retained longer, and the appreciation is greater.* If this be true, why delay in putting this program into full operation?

It would be neither practical nor wise to move all education outdoors. The subject matter of the curriculum should be divided on the basis of *where it can best be learned—inside the classroom or outside*.

All youth can explore valleys, streams, and all forms of com-

munity life close by. The outdoors begins immediately outside the school building. The teacher and her pupils can begin exploring and studying their immediate environment and continue outward in an ever-widening circle as far as it is practical to go. These field expeditions can start with the class period and extend to two hours, three, half a day, and even for two days or more.

The outdoors as a classroom is available to all teachers. In general, the teachers of English, literature, mathematics, history, geography, social studies, and other subjects do not visualize outdoor education as their concern. The average teacher or school administrator would think that it is entirely a matter of play and physical development, yet a teacher in any subject matter at any level will find abundant material outside the classroom which can be learned through direct experience.

The School Community Camp

It is educationally sound that school authorities should establish a school camp as an integral part of the total school plant. The school camp is a necessary facility just as much as the library, the gymnasium, the auditorium, and the laboratory. In the school camp, results in self-reliance, co-operative living, and understanding are developed to a degree not possible in the present school program. It is a center for realistic experience in living and working together.

The school camp provides an ideal setting for a new kind of outdoor community. Here the school youth and their teachers have the opportunity to plan their own program and to set up their own democratic procedures for living. The camp is free of city controls and regulations. It is the youth's community, a place to live together in the open country, and learn firsthand things not possible in school.

The camp groups should be divided into as small groups as possible—seven to ten have been found to be the best size for a

group Each such group should operate as a small camp and be as self-sustaining as possible, should plan its own program, plan and prepare most of its meals, do construction work, and be responsible for its own activities

These small groups should be some distance from each other, yet close enough for combined activities on occasion The central part of the camp should become the community center or village In it would be located the main library, infirmary, administrative office, a place for some meals to be served, bank and post office, cobbler shop, and other facilities needed in community life.

If the camp is to be operated only in the summertime, the structures of the small camps should be rustic and preferably designed and built by the campers themselves The teepee, round-to, lean-to, covered wagon, and other types of shelter furnish the best opportunity for youth to use their imaginations and muscles to provide their own housing.

The school-camp program should be a natural outgrowth of the school curriculum It has been found that some learnings can go on in camp more quickly and effectively than in school. As the school year proceeds, the teacher and students will find some things that they can do best in camp and some that are accomplished better in school.

A few sound guide posts in starting a school-camp program are:

1. Regimentation should be avoided.
2. No matter how well planned the activity, unless every camper participating has had a hand in the launching of it, the activity will not be as complete or meaningful an experience as is possible It may in some instances prove harmful
3. Primary emphasis should be given to helping the camper discover himself, his place in the group, his contribution to it, and his understanding of how people live together
- 4 The program content should be centered in the out-of-doors;

it should give campers a fuller understanding of our natural resources and should teach them to solve some of their own problems connected with man's basic needs for food, clothing, shelter, group living, and spiritual uplift

5 The camp should motivate its program by causing children to do for themselves and to solve their own problems. It should emphasize experience by putting the native materials into the hands of the students at the spot where such materials are naturally found

6. Camp life should give youth the optimum chance for serving others first and making self secondary to the group

7 The leaders of the camp, the counselors or teachers, should live with the campers and have common experiences with them

8 Whatever the learning and whatever the philosophy, camp from the point of view of the campers is for fun and it should be so conducted that both campers and staff find it so

In a public-school camp made up of many small groups of eight campers each, one small camp group included an Orthodox Jewish boy, three non-Orthodox Jewish boys, two Roman Catholics, and two Protestants, one of whom was white and the other Negro. For the first time in the lives of these youngsters, it was possible for them to live and learn together. They prepared most of their own meals, did much construction work in their small camp, planned trips, and shared many vital experiences. Religious and racial differences soon disappeared and real understanding, tolerance, and friendship prevailed.

Not in any school situation is there an opportunity for the development of these qualities to the extent possible in a school camp. Provide this type of camping experience for the nearly thirty millions of our school youth throughout the country and our problems of racial tolerance and understanding would largely be solved, as well as a better meaning of democracy attained

Teacher Preparation

What has been said about outdoor and camping education for school youth applies equally to the preparation of teachers. Teacher-preparing institutions should make sure that college students have a broad and rich background of experience in the outdoors, supplementing classroom study with field trips, explorations, and living in the open. Also, these future teachers should have camping experience as a part of their preparation. The wide gap between book knowledge and reality must be shortened, and better still the two should be carefully integrated.

As education turns to the outdoors to implement classroom study, conduct school camps, and prepare teachers and administrators to carry out the program, there is real hope for the development of self-reliance and understanding so essential in our American way of life.

Lloyd B. Sharp is Executive Director of National Camp-Life Camps

A CHECK LIST FOR EVALUATING SCHOOL PARTICIPATION

Milton A. Gabrielsen

Although participation in recreation activities occurs primarily outside of school hours, the education program of the school and the school plant have a definite responsibility to the pupils and the community for recreation. Recreation and education cannot be separated, a good education program contains adequate recreation. Schools must assume major responsibility for teaching the skills essential for recreation participation.

Below is contained a check list by which schools may evaluate their participation and responsibility in recreation.

1. Are school playgrounds available for use during vacation and summer months?
2. Are the school playgrounds being used to their fullest extent after school and in the evening during the school year?
3. Is qualified leadership provided for the playgrounds to supervise, instruct, and direct play?
4. Is the whole school building made available for afterschool and evening community use?
5. Do various school subjects teach the recreational value of the subject?
6. Do school recreation programs include activities for all ages and both sexes?
7. Is there full co-operation between home, school, community, church, and all other public and private agencies in the promotion of recreation for all the people of the community?
8. Does the recreation program provide a variety of opportunities to satisfy the needs and desires of most of the students and people of the community?
9. Have adequate funds been provided?
10. Do state enabling acts and school codes provide efficacious opportunity to promote recreation?
11. Is there a good school intramural sports program in operation?
12. Are extracurriculum activities encouraged by teachers?
13. Do teachers participate in the extracurriculum program?
14. Is use made of all community resources?
15. Is outdoor education a part of the school program?

Milton A. Gabrielsen is an Assistant Professor of Education in the School of Education, New York University

BOOK REVIEWS

A Basic Text for Guidance Workers, edited by CLIFFORD E. ERICKSON. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947, 566 pages.

Twenty authors have co-operated to produce this book which covers the whole range of public-school guidance programs. Included are discussions of tests, case-study techniques, interviewing, therapeutic counseling, group guidance, placement, work experience, organization, stimulating faculty growth, etc.

ROBERT HOPPOCK

Elementary Statistics, by HYMAN LEVY AND E. E. PREIDIL. New York: The Ronald Press, 1945, vii + 184 pages.

This compact volume, starting off with the simple statement, emphasized and demonstrated, "no educated person can afford to dispense with a knowledge of statistics," is marked by clear, simple, and interesting style.

The elements of statistical procedures are here given and the mathematical development of each is presented, although no effort is made to exhaust any topic. There appears to be a surprising neglect of small sample theory and of various applications of reliability of computations. The chapter treating of quality control is modern enough and the last chapter on "the limitations of normal statistical analysis" is a very welcome and helpful discussion.

The authors promise the publication of a manual of laboratory experiments to supplement the text.

PAUL V. WEST

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EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY AND IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT

Philip M. Smith

To what extent should educational sociology be concerned with conflicting political, economic, and social ideologies? Would not a scientific study of the latter seem desirable during these unsettled postwar years when the "cold war" of propaganda is being waged ruthlessly on every front? From the standpoint of the educative process, the teacher's task might be described as follows: to trace the origin and development of contemporary institutions, stressing the historical method; to explain their structure, function, and relation to the larger social configuration of which they are a part, and to identify their elements of strength and weakness, with the aim of planning improvements, so as to achieve the most effective intergroup and intercultural adjustments possible within the framework of a democratic society. If this requires making comparisons between our system of free enterprise and other competing systems, so much the better for the former. We have nothing to fear but ignorance.

It is probably in the area of projected social change that we encounter the sharpest differences of opinion, and the strongest

prejudices as well. But is the truly educated person to be content merely with knowledge of our society as it is constituted at present, or should he not try also to anticipate the direction of social movement and decide what role he will take in helping to shape the trend in the future? Since change in the nonmaterial components of culture seems unavoidable, due to the impact of technology, why not view the situation realistically and seek to prevent societal maladjustments arising from cultural lag? Such are the types of questions whose answers may well reflect ideological differences

There is considerable agreement concerning desirable objectives in our society; with regard to justifiable means to attain these ends, there is a noticeable lack of consensus. Honest differences of opinion most certainly do exist, especially on the intellectual plane. But man is a feeling, as well as a thinking, being, prone to indulge in sentimentality, at times permitting his sympathies to get the better of his judgment. Often, motivated by selfish desires, the unscrupulous demagogue may advocate certain measures, nominally for the public good, which are intended only to help himself. As a result, the immature youth may be easily confused by the voices of false political prophets who delight in making extravagant promises which may prove impossible of fulfillment.

One of the marks of the educated man should be that he knows what he believes and why he believes it. Judging from the findings of public-opinion polls, the average American is poorly informed on political and economic issues. When these issues are tied in with emotionally colored terms, such as *free enterprise*, *socialism*, *fascism*, or *communism*, the resultant confusion in the minds of many is quite understandable. Some argue that our principal problem is one of semantics, of accurate definitions of terms. But definitions of systems of ideas are difficult to formulate, both because of historical relativism with respect to meaning, and the current problem of establishing consensus in the face of prejudices

that are difficult to eradicate. For example, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, William Jennings Bryan, Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt all held views on public questions which, in their respective times, could have been considered "radical," depending upon one's frame of reference. Judged by the criteria of Russian Communism, however, their beliefs seem to have been relatively "conservative." Since the Roosevelt administration is closest to us in point of time, and since it was responsible for the "reform" legislation of the New Deal, many observers regard Mr. Roosevelt as the most "radical" of all our presidents. Yet our very nearness to the scene might well be a factor causing our judgments to be biased.

To gain a proper perspective, the student should be encouraged to review various American political and social movements in the light of their historical context. In this way he can understand why the liberal of today may be the conservative of tomorrow. Certain it is that, in a dynamic society such as ours, the political center of gravity shifts gradually in response to the "law of action and reaction." With the passing of time, viewed in retrospect with dispassionate, historical objectivity, it seems significant that many "radical" innovations once deemed contrary to the spirit of the Constitution have gained acceptance as an integral part of the American way of life. A conspicuous example of this is the federal-income-tax amendment, ratified in 1913 after the abortive law of 1894 had been declared unconstitutional. Many similar references could be cited to illustrate this point.

Evidences of Confusion in the Use of Terms

Perhaps no better evidence of misunderstanding and confusion in the use of terms can be found than in certain newspaper accounts of "red" propaganda in this country. For example, a Chicago paper carried the following headline: "RED POISON TINGES IVY OF HARVARD; CLASSROOMS HEAR ALIEN DOCTRINES." The story

itself mentioned that "Harvard makes almost a fetish of permitting radicalism to flourish, and a visitor is impressed by the prevailing spirit that 'revolution is wonderful!'" Careful reading of this report discloses that "liberalism" may be the term more accurately describing the majority viewpoint of those allegedly favoring "leftist" changes. In an institution as large as Harvard, doubtless representatives of all shades of opinion can be found. So long as sympathy for liberals is not a crime, and so long as Harvard believes in freedom of speech, name-calling will hardly improve the situation. Inasmuch as the British Labor government is admittedly socialistic, such sweeping denunciation could also include any who express admiration of certain features of the British system.

The same publication referred to above related that the "Committee on Constitutional Government" had asked Congress for a halt to the "New Deal planned economy in Europe and Asia, and the development of free enterprise as a means of stopping the encroachment of Russia." On the other hand, a Detroit paper carried the heading "MASSES PLACE HOPES IN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY. NEW SYSTEM OF ENLIGHTENED SOCIALISM EMERGES AS BULWARK AGAINST COMMUNISM." The story in question was written by a Washington correspondent who had recently returned from a tour of Europe. He stated that "not less than half a dozen ranking American diplomats" told him "in various capitals of Europe, 'The Social Democrats are leading the fight against Communism.'" Subsequent developments in several European countries seem to have given this statement added weight. Nevertheless, such striking differences of opinion as we see exhibited almost daily in the public press are indeed a source of confusion to the student.

It might prove helpful to cite a reference of current interest historically. The one-hundredth anniversary of the birth of John Peter Altgeld, one-time governor of Illinois, was observed on

December 30, 1947. A Chicago newspaper mentioned that Associate Justice William Douglas of the United States Supreme Court praised Altgeld at a dinner held in honor of the latter, now deceased, as one who defended the right of political nonconformists to express their opinions. According to the editorial: "Another Supreme Court Justice, David J. Brewer, who died in 1910, once said (in reference to the case): 'The cry for socialism comes largely from the dissipated, the lazy, the dishonest.'" But Justice Douglas saw that in the nineties "men stood condemned as un-American whose programs of reform were not more radical than the vision of our own T.V.A. and Grand Coulee." Justice Douglas likewise observed that the greater share of the trouble of people is "not due to laziness but to economic forces beyond their control." (Altgeld, in 1893, was the object of nation-wide editorial abuse because he pardoned three of seven alleged anarchists sentenced to be hanged following the Haymarket riot in 1887. A possible parallel is found in the Sacco-Vanzetti case, in Massachusetts. Denied executive clemency, the two men were executed in 1927. Many leaders in public life believed they were convicted for their "radical" political views rather than on the basis of any evidence presented at the trial.)

According to some observers, the current wave of anticommunist feeling is reminiscent of the hysteria which followed the First World War, when several Socialist members were arbitrarily expelled from the New York State Assembly. Such discrimination against law-abiding citizens duly elected by democratic processes to represent their constituents would be unthinkable today. It is interesting to note that the term "socialism," formerly deemed synonymous with revolution in the minds of many, has become increasingly respectable, compared to communism or fascism.

How any fair-minded individual who has the interests of America at heart can advocate the use of totalitarian methods to combat an alien dictatorship is hard to understand. For to do so is to

defeat the very purpose which we aim to achieve. Says John Dewey: "If there is one conclusion to which human experience unmistakably points it is that democratic ends demand democratic methods for their realization"¹ Yet, in times past, we Americans have been guilty of un-American practices in this respect.

The Role of Education

Inasmuch as educated people must take a leading part in defending our democratic institutions against the encroachment of alien, totalitarian schemes, of all groups they should be most familiar with injustices giving rise to agitation for "radical" social reforms. But as long as some teachers are sounding boards for vested interests, prohibited from expressing their views freely because of fear of reprisal, they can command the respect neither of their students nor of the community as a whole. If they have the courage of their convictions, it would seem their duty to expose the fallacy of racial and religious bigotry, and to condemn intolerance or oppression wherever they find it. Yet they cannot do this with impunity unless assured of protection against unfair retaliation by the un-American forces they attack. To quote the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights:

How can the concept of the marketplace of thought in which truth ultimately prevails retain its validity if the thought of certain individuals is denied the right of circulation? The Committee reaffirms our tradition that freedom of expression may be curbed by law only where the danger to the well-being of society is clear and present (pp 8-9).

One of our leading educators, Dr. John A. Hannah, president of Michigan State College, has suggested that a scientific appraisal of both democracy and communism, utilizing the facilities of our educational system, would quickly demonstrate which is the

¹ John Dewey, *Freedom and Culture* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons), p. 175

superior. He sees free education as a defense against communism. If we are convinced that our system is the finest in existence, why not tell the world about it? Why not advertise its points of excellence and exalt its virtues? Why not generate the kind of enthusiasm that is based on factual data? Here is where education could do an outstanding job in disseminating the gospel of our democratic traditions, practices, and objectives so that others may know wherein lies our claim to superiority.

In timely criticism of the current approach to the problem, marked by timidity and indecision, a well-known newspaper columnist, Marquis Childs, says:

We have been told very often that we are today the richest and most powerful nation in the world. But apparently we do not believe it, for one feels on every hand the kind of fear and distrust that come not from strength but from weakness. It has a strange sound, this hysterical clamor. It sounds like the squeaking of a frightened mouse rather than the sure voice of a great nation.²

He continues by quoting from a resolution introduced by Bishop Angus Dunn, of Washington, and adopted by a conference of Episcopal bishops:

The surest way to fight Communism is to work unceasingly at home and abroad for a society in which justice and the dignity of free men are in truth guaranteed to men of every race and condition. An inquisitorial investigation of men's personal beliefs can readily become an offense against God's commandment "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor." We have no defense for those who, while sharing the privileges of our imperfectly democratic society, seek to undermine its fabric. But we hold it to be the duty of every Christian citizen to guard for others the freedom of conscience we treasure for ourselves.

To summarize briefly: It seems clear that there are pronounced differences of opinion regarding definitions of ideologies believed

² *Detroit Free Press*

dangerous to the American way of life, and as to how to combat them. Certainly the student has a right to know the facts about powerful social movements which hold in their grip a large segment of the world's population. Such knowledge is indispensable if he is to identify their weaknesses and explain why they are inferior to the American system; while, at the same time, he can point the way to improvement of the latter. Unless he obtains accurate information concerning these ideas in school, under proper supervision and guidance, he may acquire a distorted picture of the actual situation. If we have faith in the ultimate accomplishments of free education, if we are determined to remedy the defects of our own institutions, the conflict of ideologies should present a golden opportunity to capitalize upon the educative process as a means of making democracy triumphant.

Dr. Philip M. Smith is Professor of Sociology in the Department of Social Sciences of Central Michigan College of Education, Mount Pleasant, Michigan.

ATTITUDES WITH REGARD TO MINORITY GROUPS OF A SAMPLING OF UNIVERSITY MEN STUDENTS FROM THE UPPER SOCIOECONOMIC LEVEL

Edward L. Adams, Jr., William B. Dreffin,
Robert B. Kamm, and Dyckman W. Vermilye

Introduction and Statement of the Problem. Thorstein Veblen, in his satirical and iconoclastic treatise, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*,¹ has suggested that certain attitudes and behavior patterns are characteristic of a segment of the upper socioeconomic classes. He describes this group as seeking to distinguish itself from other classes by such traits as "conspicuous consumption" and "conspicuous leisure." As the authors of the present study we wished to determine whether or not the pursuit of this particular type of status results in prejudice against certain minority groups, and if

¹ New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899.

so, what characterizes the nature of such prejudice. In other words, we were interested in finding the answers that members of this "leisure class" would give to such specific questions as. "Would you welcome Negroes in your home as guests?" "Would you accept Jews as associates in business and professions?" "Would you vote for properly qualified Japanese in local elections?"

To secure answers to the above and similar questions, a study was proposed whereby the attitudes of young men from upper socioeconomic homes would be ascertained with reference to Jews, Negroes, and Japanese.

The Selection of the Sample. Two criteria were established to define the group of university men students studied:

1. Their parents must own residential property.
2. Their parents must be members of one or more of the following clubs
 - a) a yacht club
 - b) a riding club
 - c) a country club
 - d) an athletic club
 - e) an art and drama club

Two hundred fraternity-men students co-operated in this study by answering a specially prepared form of inquiry (discussed later in this paper). Of this sample, 79 satisfied the above criteria, and constitute the group whose attitudes were studied in this research.

The Method and Materials. Two hundred men students were asked to fill out a form of inquiry pertaining to minority groups. A definite effort was made by the authors to assure each co-operating individual that the reports were to remain strictly anonymous. It was believed that this would help to secure complete frankness.

The form of inquiry which was used in this study consisted of two parts. In the first part, four general-information questions

concerning the respondent were included to aid in limiting the sample. Two of these questions were found to be nonfunctional ("Are you now doing part-time work?" and "Do your parents have domestic help in their home?") and were, therefore, not used in the study. The two questions cited on page 329 were retained as the criteria in defining the group.

The form of inquiry follows:

FORM OF INQUIRY

General Information

1 Are you doing part-time work?	Yes	No
2 Do your parents own residential property?	Yes	No
3 Do your parents have domestic help in their home?	Yes	No
4 Do your parents belong to: a yacht club?	Yes	No
a riding club?	Yes	No
an athletic club?	Yes	No
a country club?	Yes	No
an art and drama club?	Yes	No

Attitudes with Regard to Minority Groups

Directions: This is an opinion questionnaire. Please express *how you feel* about the following. If, as the name of each group (Jews, Negroes, Japanese) is substituted in the blank spaces, you agree with the statement, encircle "A"; if you disagree, encircle "D."

<i>Items</i>	<i>Jews</i>	<i>Negroes</i>	<i>Jap- anese</i>
1 I would welcome——in my home as guests.	A D	A D	A D
2 I would vote for properly qualified —— in local elections.	A D	A D	A D
3 I would accept——as associates in business and professions.	A D	A D	A D
4 I would accept——as members in my church.	A D	A D	A D
5 I would accept——of approximately equal economic status as close neighbors.	A D	A D	A D

FORM OF INQUIRY (*Continued*)

<i>Items</i>	<i>Jews</i>		<i>Negroes</i>		<i>Jap- anese</i>	
6 I would accept——of approximately equal economic status as members of any club to which I belong.	A	D	A	D	A	D
7 ——should be allowed to represent the United States diplomatically abroad.	A	D	A	D	A	D
8 ——should be admitted to private and public schools on an equal basis with me.	A	D	A	D	A	D
9 ——should be permitted to participate in athletic activities with me.	A	D	A	D	A	D
10 ——are very easily influenced by radical doctrines.	A	D	A	D	A	D

Findings: The total responses with regard to each of the ten items (in terms of numbers and percentages) appear in Table 1.

TABLE 1
RESPONSES OF THE GROUP STUDIES

RESPONSES OF THE GROUP STUDIES													
Items		Jews		Negroes		Japanese							
		Agree Per No cent	Disagree Per No cent	Agree Per No cent	Disagree Per No cent	Agree Per No cent	Disagree Per No cent						
1	I would welcome— in my home as guests.	58	73	21	27	33	42	45	38	43	54	36	46
2	I would vote for properly qualified— in local elections.	59	76	19	24	61	78	17	22	53	68	25	32
3	I would accept—as associates in business and professions.	50	63	29	37	48	61	31	39	46	59	33	41
4	I would accept—as members in my church.	52	67	26	33	55	71	23	29	62	80	16	20
5	I would accept—of approximately equal economic status as close neighbors	44	55	34	45	24	30	53	70	40	52	37	48
6	I would accept—of approximately equal economic status as members of any club to which I belong	30	38	49	62	26	33	52	67	32	41	46	59

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Items	<i>Jews</i>		<i>Negroes</i>		<i>Japanese</i>	
	<i>Agree</i> <i>Per</i> <i>No cent</i>	<i>Disagree</i> <i>Per</i> <i>No cent</i>	<i>Agree</i> <i>Per</i> <i>No cent</i>	<i>Disagree</i> <i>Per</i> <i>No cent</i>	<i>Agree</i> <i>Per</i> <i>No cent</i>	<i>Disagree</i> <i>Per</i> <i>No cent</i>
7 —should be allowed to represent the United States diplomatically abroad.	53 68	25 32	41 53	37 47	25 32	53 68
8 —should be admitted to private and public schools on an equal basis with me	72 91	7 9	67 86	11 14	72 91	7 9
9 —should be permitted to participate in athletic activities with me.	75 96	4 4	78 99	1 1	78 99	1 1
10 —are very easily influenced by radical doctrines	27 37	45 63	42 58	30 42	24 34	46 66

In Table 2 (Intragroup Comparisons), the authors have been concerned with whether a significant proportion of the respondents agree with the statement with respect to each of the minority groups. No comparison between groups is considered in this table²

TABLE 2

INTRAGROUP COMPARISONS

<i>Items</i>	<i>Significant Difference</i>	<i>Nonsignificant Difference</i>
1 I would welcome—in my home as guests.	favoring Jews	Negroes, Japanese
2 I would vote for properly qualified—in local elections	favoring Jews, Negroes, Japanese	

² Formula used to determine significance of intragroup and intergroup differences
Where $\bar{d} > \frac{1.96}{\sqrt{N}}$ the difference is statistically significant at the 5 per cent level of confidence (\bar{d} is the difference between the two proportions being tested)

TABLE 2 (*Continued*)

<i>Items</i>	<i>Significant Difference</i>	<i>Nonsignificant Difference</i>
3 I would accept—as associates in business and professions	favoring Jews, Negroes	Japanese
4 I would accept—as members in my church	favoring Jews, Negroes, Japanese	
5 I would accept—of approximately equal economic status as close neighbors.	opposing Negroes	Jews, Japanese
6 I would accept—of approximately equal economic status as members of any club to which I belong.	opposing Jews, Negroes	Japanese
7 —should be allowed to represent the United States diplomatically abroad	favoring Jews, opposing Japanese	Negroes
8 —should be admitted to private and public schools on an equal basis with me.	favoring Jews, Negroes, Japanese	
9 —should be permitted to participate in athletic activities with me	favoring Jews, Negroes, Japanese	
10 —are very easily influenced by radical doctrines	favoring Jews, Japanese	Negroes

In Table 3 (Intergroup Comparisons) the authors were concerned with whether a significant proportion of the respondents preferred one or more of the minority groups to the others with respect to each item

TABLE 3

INTERGROUP COMPARISONS

<i>Items</i>	<i>Significant Difference</i>	<i>Nonsignificant Difference</i>
1 I would welcome —in my home as guests.	Jews over Negroes	Japanese over Negroes, Jews over Japanese
2 I would vote for properly qualified —in local elec- tions.		Negroes over Jews, Negroes over Japanese, Jews over Japanese
3 I would accept— as associates in busi- ness and profes- sions.		Jews over Negroes, Negroes over Japanese, Jews over Japanese
4 I would accept— as members in my church.		Japanese over Negroes, Japanese over Jews, Jews over Negroes
5 I would accept— of approximately equal economic status as close neighbors.	Jews over Negroes, Japanese over Negroes	Jews over Japanese
6 I would accept— of approximately equal economic status as members of any club to which I belong.		Japanese over Jews, Japanese over Negroes, Jews over Negroes
7 —should be al- lowed to represent the United States diplomatically abroad	Jews over Japanese	Jews over Negroes, Negroes over Japanese

TABLE 3 (*Continued*)

<i>Items</i>	<i>Significant Difference</i>	<i>Nonsignificant Difference</i>
8 —should be admitted to private and public schools on an equal basis with me.		Jews over Japanese, Jews over Negroes, Japanese over Negroes
9 —should be permitted to participate in athletic activities with me.		Japanese over Negroes, Japanese over Jews, Negroes over Jews
10 —are very easily influenced by radical doctrines.	Japanese over Negroes	Japanese over Jews, Jews over Negroes

In Table 4 are listed the ten items on the basis of a composite index of acceptance of the three minority groups with regard to each item. Item nine, for instance, occupies first place in the table because it has the highest composite percentage of acceptance with regard to all minority groups by the sample. At the other extreme is item six which occupies the lowest place in the table because it has the lowest composite percentage of acceptance with regard to all minority groups by the sample

TABLE 4

COMPOSITE RANKING OF THE TEN ITEMS IN ORDER OF ACCEPTANCE

<i>Items</i>	<i>Rank</i>
—should be permitted to participate in athletic activities with me.	1
—should be admitted to private and public schools on an equal basis with me.	2
I would vote for properly qualified—in local elections	3
I would accept—as members in my church	4
I would accept—as associates in business and professions	5
—are easily influenced by radical doctrines ^a	6

^a In determining the rank of this item the method of obtaining the composite percentage was reversed, inasmuch as a disagreement with the item indicates acceptance of the group

TABLE 4 (*Continued*)

<i>Items</i>	<i>Rank</i>
I would welcome—in my home as guests	7
—should be allowed to represent the United States diplomatically abroad	8
I would accept—of approximately equal economic status as close neighbors	9
I would accept—of approximately equal economic status as members of any club to which I belong.	10

Conclusions and Interpretations. The findings of this study seem to warrant the following conclusions:

A There is a decided split in the ranks of the upper socio-economic group sampled with regard to attitudes toward Jews, Negroes, and Japanese. Although there is a tendency to accept all three minority groups, the fact that there is rejection, as shown by 36 per cent of the reports, is indicative of an undesirable condition.

B. Acceptance of the three groups tends to be in the order of Jews, Japanese, and Negroes.

Four of the items (numbers two, four, eight, and nine) indicated a significant acceptance of all three minority groups. These four items concerned attitudes toward voting for properly qualified candidates in local elections, toward acceptance as members in one's church, toward admitting to private and public schools on an equal basis with the respondent, and toward permitting participation in athletic activities with the respondent. For all four of these items, there was no significant difference in the degree of acceptance between groups.

Item six (accepting those of approximately equal economic status as members of any club to which respondent belongs) revealed a significant discrimination against Jews and Negroes. There was no significant rejection of any one group over another, however.

Item five (acceptance as close neighbors) reveals a prejudice against Negroes. One may conjecture that such prejudice against Negroes results from an aspect of the Negro stereotype.

The only item that revealed more discrimination against Japanese than against the other two minority groups was item seven (—should be allowed to represent the United States diplomatically abroad). The recency of the Second World War appears to be the logical explanation for this attitude. In contrast, there is a significant acceptance of Jews on this item, while the sample was not agreed regarding Negroes on the item.

The inquisitive reader can find among the percentages included in Table 2 additional interesting information which cannot be clearly indicated in Table 3, or in the conclusions, since it fails in varying degrees to meet the tests of statistical significance which we have applied. It is possible, however, that the reader may wish to evaluate cautiously such additional comparisons at his own discretion in terms of general trends which may help to round out the picture.

On the basis of composite percentages the highest index of discrimination is directed at Negroes. Japanese and Jews follow in this order, Jews being the object of the least discrimination. The differences are not statistically significant, however, and further caution should be exercised in interpreting this comparison in that there were so few items, that one which is heavily weighted against one of the groups (as in item seven against Japanese) may distort the true picture.

In conclusion, it is apparent on the basis of the sample studied that young men from upper socioeconomic families will verbalize prejudice against Jews, Negroes, and Japanese in certain areas of social activity. In this connection it is probably safe to assume that:

- (1) The actual behavioral pattern of the group studied reflects as much or more prejudice than their questionnaire responses
- (2) The prejudice index of the parents of the sample, or of the sample itself, as its members grow older would be as high, or higher than, the present study indicates. It is beyond the scope of this study to speculate concerning the relative degrees of prejudice

which would be characteristic of other socioeconomic classes, but companion studies could profitably be made of such groups. If such were available, their comparison would furnish a sound foundation for the construction of programs which would be custom-tailored to combat prejudice in the most efficient manner for each group.

Edward L. Adams, Jr., William B. Dreffin, Robert B. Kanini, and Dyckman W. Vermilye are graduate students at the University of Minnesota.

YEARS OF SCHOOLING COMPLETED BY UNITED STATES ADULTS

Walter G. Bowerman

In the United States census of 1940 there is shown, for each community of 2,500 or more people, the average (median) number of years of schooling had by the population aged 25 and over. Some observations upon these figures may be of general interest. For the entire country the average was 8.4 years, *i.e.*, slightly less than half a year of high school. In East Lansing, Michigan, where Michigan State University is located, the figure was 14.3 years, *i.e.*, slightly more than halfway through college. On the other hand, Alexandria, Louisiana, had an average of 4.3 years—the fourth grade was completed and a start made on the fifth grade.¹ In New York City the borough of Queens had 8.5 years and Brooklyn 8.1 years, the other three boroughs being in between. As a rule the large industrial cities stand at about the national average.

There were 613 cities in which the average years of schooling were 10.0 or more. Naturally these are distributed by states somewhat according to the general pattern of urbanization. Thus the Northeastern states and the Pacific Coast were prominent among the leaders. In California there were 79 such cities, in Texas, 61; in Pennsylvania, 45; in Massachusetts, 40; in Ohio and New Jersey, 31 each; in New York, 29; in Illinois, 28, in Iowa, 24; and in

¹ Thus this community had just ten years less formal training than had East Lansing.

Michigan, 20. On the other hand, there were no such cities in West Virginia or Tennessee, and only one each in New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, and New Mexico. Of course, more such cities would be expected in the most populous areas and a more accurate comparison would arise from the number of cities per million of population.

On this basis the most remarkable result is the pre-eminence of the Western states. The number of such cities per million people was as follows for the ten leading states: Utah, 52.2; Wyoming, 51.1; Idaho, 43.7; Vermont, 34.1; Nevada, 29.6; Montana, 25.4; Oregon, 25.2; Nebraska, 20.0; California, 17.9; and Texas, 17.9. With the exception of three New England states (Vermont, Massachusetts, and Maine) all the 18 leaders were west of the Wisconsin, Illinois, Arkansas, Louisiana line. From this and many other indexes it is evident that the people of the Western states are, on the whole, better educated than those in the Eastern states. The proportion of college graduates among the people aged 25 and over is definitely higher in ten Western states than it is in most of the Eastern and Central states. Apparently selective migration explains much of the difference. The average in the East is held down by millions of emigrants from Europe, while it seems likely that migrants toward the Mountain and Pacific states are on the average better educated than the people who stay at home.

A second result of the tabulation is that the suburbs of large cities furnish nearly all the leaders of cities in high averages of educational standing. This becomes evident when we observe the 24 communities which had an average educational status of 12.7 years or more. These 24 cities were in every instance either de luxe residential suburbs of large cities or university towns. Four of these cities were in California; three each in New York, Pennsylvania, and Texas; two each in Illinois and Ohio, and one in each of seven other states. The 24 communities are recorded in Table 1.

TABLE I

UNITED STATES CITIES OF HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL STATUS

U = University city

<i>State</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Average Years of Schooling (1940)</i>	<i>Comments</i>
Mich.	E. Lansing	14.3	U
Pa.	Swarthmore	13.9	near Philadelphia
Ohio	Upper Arlington	13.7	near Columbus
N.C.	Chapel Hill	13.7	U
Ill.	Winnetka	13.6	near Chicago
Tex.	University Park	13.6	near Dallas
N.Y.	Scarsdale	13.5	near New York
			City
Tex.	Highland Park	13.5	near Dallas
Ohio	Shaker Heights	13.0	near Cleveland
Pa.	Mt. Lebanon	12.9	near Pittsburgh
Pa.	State College	12.9	U
Ind.	W. Lafayette	12.9	U
Calif.	San Marino	12.9	near Los Angeles
Calif.	Claremont	12.8	near Los Angeles
Calif.	Beverly Hills	12.8	near Los Angeles
Ill.	Kenilworth	12.8	near Chicago
N.Y.	Garden City	12.8	near New York
			City
Mo.	Clayton	12.8	near St. Louis
Calif.	Piedmont	12.7	near San Francisco
Mass.	Wellesley	12.7	near Boston
N.Y.	Bronxville	12.7	near New York
			City
Tex.	Alamo Heights	12.7	near San Antonio
Wash.	Pullman	12.7	U
Wis.	Shorewood	12.7	near Milwaukee

It is of interest to observe three Southern cities among the top eight names in Table I. The university town of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, is fourth on the list; and two residential suburbs of Dallas, Texas, stand higher than any city from the Pacific Coast. Yet of the 24 cities, seven are in the northeast, seven in North

Central states, five on the Pacific Coast, and only five elsewhere.

There are 50 cities with an average educational status of 12.5 years or more. Seven of these are suburbs of New York City, six of Chicago; three each, of Los Angeles and San Francisco; two each, of the District of Columbia, Cleveland, Columbus, Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Dallas, and Milwaukee. The other 15 cities are scattered widely from Coronado, California, to Coral Gables, Florida; and from East Grand Rapids, Michigan, to Auburn, Alabama. In this list Chicago, with six, has about twice as many distinguished suburbs as its size would suggest.² For the District of Columbia the two suburbs are Greenbelt, Maryland (12.5), and Falls Church, Virginia (12.6). The seven distinguished suburbs of New York City are three in Westchester County to the north, three in New Jersey to the west, and one on Long Island to the east. In this order they are Scarsdale (13.5), Bronxville (12.7), Pelham Manor (12.5), Glen Ridge (12.5), Ridgewood (12.5), South Orange (12.5) and Garden City (12.8). The adult people of these suburbs have had on the average about 50 per cent more schooling than the citizens of the five boroughs, which compose New York City proper. This condition is characteristic of most of the large urban areas of the United States.

What of the large cities themselves? Of the 613 cities with 10.0 years or more of schooling for the average adult, only 19 had a population of 75,000 or more. This is only 3 per cent, a somewhat lower proportion than would be found if there were no qualification as to education. In 1940 there were 127 United States cities of 75,000 or more people, and 3,464 of 2,500 or more, a ratio of 4 per cent. Our 613 cities with 10.0 years or more of schooling form only 18 per cent of all the United States cities. In Table 2 are shown the 19 large cities.

² They are Winnetka (13.6), Kenilworth (12.8), Glenview (12.6), Western Springs (12.6), La Grange (12.5), and Wilmette (12.5).

TABLE 2
UNITED STATES CITIES WITH OVER 75,000 PEOPLE
WITH HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL STATUS

<i>State</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Average Years of Schooling (1940)</i>	<i>Population in 7 thousands (1940)</i>	<i>Comments</i>
Calif.	Los Angeles	10.7	1,504	U
D.C.	Washington	10.2	663	U*
Wash.	Seattle	10.8	368	U
Ore.	Portland	10.2	305	U
Calif.	Oakland	10.0	302	U
Tex.	Dallas	10.4	295	—
Okla.	Oklahoma City	10.7	204	U*
Calif.	San Diego	10.7	203	—
Calif.	Long Beach	11.1	164	—
Iowa	Des Moines	10.9	160	U*
Okla.	Tulsa	11.0	142	U
Wash.	Spokane	10.1	122	U
Kan.	Wichita	10.5	115	U
Calif.	Sacramento	10.1	106	*
Ark.	Little Rock	10.0	88	U*
Calif.	Berkeley	12.3	86	U
Calif.	Glendale	12.2	83	—
Calif.	Pasadena	11.5	82	U
Neb.	Lincoln	11.1	82	U*

Key U = University city

* = Capital city

Several observations of considerable interest may be made from Table 2: (1) Of the 19 cities, eleven are in the Pacific coastal states, including eight in California. Seven are Midwestern: Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma (two), Texas, and Arkansas. Only a single city is in the East, *i.e.*, Washington, D.C. These facts confirm others presented above in revealing the higher educational status of the western and especially the far western areas of the United States. (2) The three California cities of about 80,000 population—Berkeley (12.3), Glendale (12.2), and Pasadena (11.5)—have a higher educational status than any of the others of these large cities. Their average period of schooling was 12.0 years as against 10.5 for the rest of the 19 cities. (3) At least 14 of

the 19 cities are graced by the presence of one or more universities and colleges. Six cities are capitals, another factor which tends to elevate the level of education and general alertness in intellectual matters. (4) Among the fourteen United States cities of 500,000 or more people in 1940, Los Angeles (10.7) was in a class by itself in respect to educational status. The other 13 cities averaged 8.8 years of schooling, nearly two years less than that of Los Angeles. This is a very substantial margin which the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce does not seem to have emphasized in its otherwise vigorous optimism.

Of the 613 cities with 10.0 years or more of schooling, there are sixteen which are capital cities and at least six in other states which are suburbs of capital cities. Thus nearly half the capitals of the entire country are in this list, although the 613 cities are only 18 per cent of the total of all United States cities. The capitals and the suburbs of capitals appear in Table 3.

TABLE 3
STATE CAPITALS
WITH AVERAGE SCHOOLING 10 YEARS OR OVER (AGE 25 AND UP)

<i>State</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Average Years of Schooling (1940)</i>
Ark.	Little Rock	10.0
Calif.	Sacramento	10.1
D.C.	Washington	10.2
Idaho	Boise	11.3
Iowa	Des Moines	10.9
Miss.	Jackson	10.3
Mont.	Helena	10.0
Neb.	Lincoln	11.1
N.D.	Bismarck	10.9
Okla.	Oklahoma City	10.7
S.D.	Pierre	12.1
Utah	Salt Lake City	11.4
Vt.	Montpelier	11.9
Wash.	Olympia	10.2
Wis.	Madison	11.8
Wyo.	Cheyenne	10.0

SUBURBS OF STATE CAPITALS
(WHERE CAPITAL IS NOT LISTED ABOVE)

<i>State</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Average Years of Schooling (1940)</i>
Ariz.	Tempe (Phoenix)	11.3
Conn.	W. Hartford (Hartford)	12.1
Mass.	Wellesley (Boston)	12.7
Mass.	Winchester (Boston)	12.5
Mich.	E. Lansing (Lansing)	14.3
Ohio	Upper Arlington (Columbus)	13.7

The five leaders among the capitals are Pierre, South Dakota (12.1); Montpelier, Vermont (11.9); Madison, Wisconsin (11.8); Salt Lake City, Utah (11.4); and Boise, Idaho (11.3). All of these are in the West except Montpelier, Vermont. The list of suburbs of capital cities has a distinctly higher average rating than the capitals themselves. This is in accordance with the definite tendency for residential suburbs to excel the central cities to which they are adjacent.

In *Life* magazine for June 30, 1947, there were a number of pages showing the chief characteristics of the United States—things to be proud of on Independence Day (the Fourth of July). In that connection the editors referred to "the industries that make America strong and the suburbs that make her beautiful." From the material presented in the present paper one can infer that a substantial proportion of the professional and managerial people have gravitated to the beauty of the suburbs. This tendency is in accord with the fact that the leaders even in science are guided in large measure by the aesthetic sense. The beauties of Nature refresh the spirit and give new energy to the mind, and this fact seems to be widely recognized in America.

Walter G. Bowerman is Assistant Actuary for the New York Life Insurance Company.

PUBLIC OPINION AND CROSSFIRE

Louis E. Raths and Frank N. Trager

Section I

Early in 1947 it was learned that Mr. Dore Schary, Executive Vice-President in charge of production at RKO Studios, was going to produce a film called *Crossfire*, dealing with the problem of anti-Semitism in particular, and prejudice in general. This in itself was a significant event, for it would mean that a major film studio was producing a film for the first time dealing with this serious social problem—and dealing with it not as a documentary film for a limited audience, but in terms of the normal screen and motion-picture audience who come to see films in regular motion-picture theaters.

The facts about the picture can be stated briefly *Crossfire* is a screen play written by John Paxton and directed by Edward Dmytryk. It stars Robert Young as the detective-hero, Robert Mitchum as a hero who is a member of the armed forces, and Robert Ryan as a recently discharged veteran who is the villain. Sam Levene plays the small and yet significant part of the Jew who is murdered—solely because he is a Jew. The picture is written and produced in a slow-paced but deeply exciting manner, designed to ferret out the cause and perpetrator of a pair of murders. In this respect, the story stands on its own feet. It can be enjoyed as a distinguished example of a trend in motion pictures, trade-marked by such people as Alfred Hitchcock, Carol Reed, Mark Hellinger, and now, Dore Schary, among others. But beyond its theatrical satisfactions in terms of a "mystery" film it articulates a serious problem as warp and woof of the story itself. The villain is a man who is essentially pathological in his hatred—a hatred which he vents by being a bully, by murdering a Jew in the name of his hatred for Jews; by murdering his friend in order to protect himself; by indicating that he really is a sick soul,

a soul in whom the accumulated hatreds typified in his anti-Semitism finally end in tragic disaster for him as well as for his victims.

The problem of anti-Semitism has been with us a long time. Since 1933, it has been exacerbated by the startling fact that a sovereign power, for the first time in modern history, made use of all of the instruments of sovereignty in order to promote anti-Semitism at home and to export it abroad as a divisive weapon in its strategy of terror. The use of anti-Semitism became part of the war of nerves which led to the Second World War.

The villain in *Crossfire* is the kind of person who fell victim to the Hitlers in the modern world and became an instrument in bringing about the recent holocaust. The picture attempts to show not only this pathology in its worst form, namely, murder, but also through a dramatic speech by the detective-hero, it tries to point up the interrelation among many forms of prejudice: prejudice against persons in different states, called, derisively, hillbillies; prejudice against persons who themselves or whose parents emigrated from various European countries; prejudice which discriminates on the job, in the school, in buying houses; prejudice which at various times in America's history has led to explosive and murderous situations. The lesson pointed out in this speech is one which is historically true and psychologically sound. Prejudice not always eventuates in lynchings and murders but, even in its less evil form, stems from the same kind of social and emotional disease which ultimately may engulf a whole society.

This analysis of prejudice has been validated by the social scientists. It has been preached by the great religious leaders of all faiths. It has been handled dramatically from time to time on the stage and in a number of notable instances, though isolated ones, on the air. As indicated above, it is the first time that the great medium of the motion picture has attempted to treat this problem.

A curious thing happened. Whereas treatment of this problem

on the air, in the press, in speeches, has been commonly accepted as appropriate, objection was raised to its portrayal on the screen. Now there were certain legitimate worries relating to a Hollywood film on anti-Semitism. Would the film producers develop a picture in which the problem was intelligently treated? Would reviewers condemn it because Hollywood tried to be serious as well as entertaining? Would audiences condemn Hollywood for the same reason and stay away from the picture? Would the picture have any effect upon audiences; that is, would they be the better or the worse, or the same, for having seen the picture? These, we indicate, were legitimate worries. Early previews brought in another kind of worry which seemed to many of us farfetched and improbable; namely, that audiences might tend to identify themselves, not with the forces of good, as portrayed by the detective-hero and the sergeant-hero, but because of the issue of anti-Semitism, identify themselves with the villain. In other words, that Americans might applaud the anti-Semitism of the villain who murders as the final expression of his internal hatreds. Because of these questions, and with the permission of the producer, we decided to arrange for a number of previews and tests of the picture before it opened on July 22 at the Rivoli Theater in New York City. Here are the steps we took:

1. In mid-June 1947 the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith invited some fifty people representing a variety of Christian and Jewish agencies, engaged in the task of educating for good human relations, to preview the film. With the exception of representatives from one Jewish agency, the reaction of this audience overwhelmingly endorsed the picture and praised both its intent and production.

2. The next day, a preview was arranged for a small group of experts who had formed a committee, on the invitation of the Anti-Defamation League, to set up an evaluation and testing procedure with respect to *Crossfire*. The persons at this preview included Dr. Louis E. Rath, Chairman; Dr. Avrum Ben-Avi, Clinical Psychologist, New York University, Dr. Lloyd Allen Cook, Professor of Educational Sociology,

Wayne University, Detroit; Dr Elaine Forsythe, Professor of Social Psychology, Albany State Teachers College, Mr. Charles Siepmann, formerly of the British Broadcasting Company, now Director of the Center for Communications, New York University; and Mr. Frank N. Trager. This committee agreed unanimously that the film was indeed a worthy one, and that research should be undertaken to determine audience reaction.

After seeing it, they raised a number of questions with the producer, Mr. Schary; made several suggestions in connection with cutting the film and redoing one or two scenes; and then discussed with him the kind of questions which they would like to have explored with various audiences. These questions related to the possible reactions of audiences to the villain, to the way in which he is ultimately handled in the film, to the motivation of the principal characters in the film; to possible identifications audiences would make with various characters in the film. Notwithstanding their own favorable reaction to *Crossfire*, the committee was hesitant in anticipating or predicting audience reaction. They felt that the film should be put to the test.

Every member of the committee voiced the conviction that a single picture would not, of itself, produce a tremendously significant difference in changing basic attitudes. Moreover, the committee members were convinced that the effect of the motion picture would vary under different circumstances and that the film would probably have more significant effects if those who saw it became involved in discussions of the issues in informal home and community situations. However, having so effective a picture followed by other pictures and the general use of means of communication to air these problems would, in all probability, significantly affect the mores of the community. In testing the consequences following the showing of *Crossfire*, our committee would not, of course, be testing the worth of the cumulative effect of such a series. The job of testing the impact of a cycle or a program of such

events remains for the future. The committee felt that *Crossfire* might be significant in still another way: it would stimulate audiences to think over many ideas of their own relating to prejudices of one kind or another. The picture has a quality which provokes reflection. This is a good thing in itself, and reflects creditably on Hollywood.

As a result of this second preview, the committee, headed by Dr. Raths, agreed with Mr. Schary on a series of tests with a high-school audience in a city in Ohio, and an average adult audience in Boston and Denver. The following sections describe in more detail these tests

Section II

Preface

A city of 50,000, located in the state of Ohio, was chosen as the center for testing on the high-school level. The particular city was chosen because in many respects it was thought to represent a "typical Middletown city," and also because in the very recent past it had been the subject of study by various faculty members of the near-by university. School officials, teachers, and the students were willing to co-operate in the study, and it was agreed that all reporting would be done in an anonymous fashion. The population of the selected city is predominately white, native-born, Protestant, with a reasonably large Catholic element. Good municipal planning is reflected in its well-paved and well-lighted streets. It has its own gas, light, and water utilities. The leading industries are: (a) production of metal castings, (b) manufacturing of safes, (c) paper-making, (d) machine-tool-making.

This community depends largely upon its own resources for its social life. It has such organizations as the Elks, Moose, Y.M.C.A., and Catholic Centers. Since there are no large auditoriums in the city, the high-school auditorium has been used for concerts and dramatic presentations.

In regard to the schools, it may be stated that the community people have been actively interested in their welfare. The school board has held the confidence of the citizens of the community. Satisfactory working relations have been established between the community and the schools. In all of the outwardly observable characteristics the community seemed to be the typical Middle Western town.

Issues Raised in the Motion Picture Crossfire

In the picture, the resources of the law are mobilized to capture the murderer. Would students tend to have less respect for the law or more respect for the law when it is actively in pursuit of a hate-monger?

In the picture, some of the principal characters are members of the armed services and some are recently discharged members of the services. Is it possible that the showing of the film might have serious consequences so far as respect for the armed services is concerned?

The film also brings in, and in a rather dramatic manner, some history of the persecution of Catholics which was not altogether uncommon in the last century. A question was raised as to whether the clarification of this particular issue might not also have adverse effects among students on attitudes toward Catholics and toward Protestants.

In the picture, a young Tennessee mountaineer is the butt of ridicule of the villain of the film. As the film carries through, this rustic Tennessean becomes party to a subtle plot to trap the real killer. This character wears the uniform of the United States Army, too. The question is raised whether students might interpret his role as that of a treacherous and perhaps double-dealing individual who brings disgrace not only upon himself, but upon his military outfit.

The principal character of the film is a detective who is portrayed by Robert Young. In the course of the story, Mr. Young makes several brief speeches against prejudice. He seems to want to include prejudices of all kinds, although the film itself places great emphasis upon prejudice against Catholics, prejudice against Jews, and prejudice against some other minority groups. The question was raised. What effect might this have upon prevailing opinions of young people with respect to foreigners, to Negroes, to various liberals who are vigorously defending minority groups?

In order to answer these questions and others, it became necessary to set up some plan of investigation whereby evidence could be collected relevant to the change or lack of change in attitudes following the showing (seeing) of the film. Ordinarily, attitudes have been measured in the past by simply asking people for their opinions on whatever issue was under consideration. The direct measurement of opinion by asking individuals how they stood on the relevant issues was discarded on the ground that long experience in a variety of fields has tended to show that people judge themselves to be more tolerant than may actually be the case.

A second alternative was decided upon. We made the assumption that those who saw the motion picture, *Crossfire*, would be stimulated to talk about it with their friends. We made the further assumption that, if we could get some judgment from individuals about the opinions of their friends before and after the showing of the motion picture, we would be securing evidence concerning the influence of the motion picture in bringing about a change in attitude.

At this point, attention must be directed toward the construction of the questionnaire which was used in the study. The identical form of the questionnaire had been used previously on a number of occasions in some small Ohio communities. These communities were known by informed observers to have rather defi-

nite prejudices against certain minority groups, and the administration of the test in these communities brought results which confirmed the judgments of the so-called expert, or informed, judges. In other words, there seemed to be some validity to the instrument as determined by previous trial.

In making a plan for testing whether or not *Crossfire* would bring about changes in attitudes of those who saw the picture, we might conceivably have set up a pattern which involved "control groups." By and large, however, the use of "control groups" in social experimentation is a misnomer, and tends rather to abuse sound scientific methodology. If a *control* is assumed to be a factor which is influencing the conclusion, and if a "control study" is one in which these influential factors can be measured in a way which will allow for the prediction of consequences, then with our customary lack of ability to identify the factors, it probably would have been impossible to have arranged for a controlled experiment. This was beyond possibility; attempts in that direction would probably have taken years. We therefore ruled it out as a method in this case.

Sometimes, in investigations of this kind, the so-called "comparison-group" method is used. In this instance the investigators do not delude themselves into believing that they have the situation under control. In a rather crude way, however, they wanted to determine whether or not the showing of the film to one group brought about greater changes of attitude in that group than were to be observed in another group which had not seen the film. For the purposes of the present investigation, this sort of arrangement seemed to have no practical worth. We were almost positive that the film was going to be shown commercially in practically all cities in the United States. Our primary concern was to find out whether or not those who saw the film tended to like it or to dislike it, tended to identify themselves with a certain character and to reject others, tended to be influenced strongly, mildly, or not

at all by the experience. Consequently, we chose not to have a so-called "comparison group" and we did choose to find out, as directly as we could, some of the reactions of those people who saw the picture.

It is obvious that we are unable to say that the motion picture, as a single isolated phenomenon, did or did not bring about certain changes in attitude. If significant changes had occurred, we could not have been able to say that this motion picture was the cause of those changes. On the other hand, we anticipated that if no significant changes in response did occur, we could say that the motion picture had not been tremendously influential in bringing about significant shifts in attitudes toward minority groups. This again rests upon the assumption that the instrument we used would reflect significant changes if they did occur, and we are going on the assumption that our questionnaire would in fact reveal a significant difference if one had taken place. The rejection of this assumption by the readers would probably be accompanied by a rejection of our conclusions. Doubt of this assumption would probably result in doubting the conclusions that are reported herein. At this point we will introduce our questions and report the percentages of replies before the motion picture was shown and after the motion picture was shown. *Crossfire* was viewed by these high-school students on a Wednesday. The previous day they had responded to the questionnaire, and again on Friday (of the same week) they responded to the questionnaire. Hence, any differences that are shown in the accompanying tables are differences between Tuesday and Friday. We made a second assumption to the effect that in these intervening several days, the students would probably be stimulated to voice their own individual reactions to the film, to characters portrayed in the film, and to the plot in general.

We assumed that among their friends and classmates there probably would be discussion of some of the principal incidents in the

film. The questionnaire asked each individual student to estimate the number of his acquaintances who had biases toward certain minority groups. We went ahead on the theory that if the film did release sentiments of prejudice toward minority groups, these would be apparent in a large number of interpersonal contacts, and would reveal themselves also in the second administrations of the questionnaire. In the following pages each question on the questionnaire is stated, and the before and after results are presented.

What is your own best guess about the opinions of young people whom you know?

1. Some young people have very little respect for any religion other than their own. If they are Protestants, they sometimes do not like Catholics. If they are Catholic, they sometimes do not like Protestants. They think their own religion is the very best, and they think that people with other religions are not as good as they are. How many people do you know who are like this?

	NOBODY	ONLY A FEW	MUCH LESS THAN HALF	ABOUT HALF	MUCH MORE THAN HALF	ALMOST EVERYBODY
	<i>per cent</i>	<i>per cent</i>	<i>per cent</i>	<i>per cent</i>	<i>per cent</i>	<i>per cent</i>
<i>Before</i>	8	52	16	21	3	0
<i>After</i>	4	63	18	11	4	0

The reader will notice that before the motion picture was shown, a total of 24 per cent of the replies were in the upper three categories, indicating that half or more of the people whom they knew think that people with other religions are not as good as they are. The film was then shown. If we may assume that the film released sentiments concerning tolerance and intolerance with respect to Protestants and Catholics, and, if we can assume further, that these individuals in marking these ballots reflected fairly well the influence of the motion picture, then we can say that there was a decrease in the number of people who said that half or more of the people whom they knew were like this,

because in the "post-test" only 15 per cent were found in the upper three categories¹

Because many of the principal characters involved in the motion picture had relationships to our armed forces, either in the recent past or in the present, we proposed the following question:

What is your own best guess about the opinions of young people whom you know?

2. Some young people are in favor of universal military-training for all young men at the age of 18. How many people in high school do you know who favor compulsory military-training?

	NOBODY	ONLY A FEW	MUCH LESS THAN HALF	ABOUT HALF	MUCH MORE THAN HALF	ALMOST EVERYBODY
	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent
<i>Before</i>	13	35	21	19	8	3
<i>After</i>	17	42	20	10	6	3*

* Occasionally one or two students did not answer every question and therefore our percentages do not always add up exactly to 100 per cent

In their responses to this question, 30 per cent of the students checked one of the upper three categories, indicating that half, much more than half, or nearly all of their acquaintances were in favor of universal military-training. After the film was shown, 19 per cent of the responses were to be found in these categories. This constitutes a drop of 11 per cent. The inference was made that attitudes toward universal military-training were affected adversely.

Quite deliberately we allowed some questions to remain in the test which seemed to have little bearing upon the central theme of the motion picture with the intent that they should be consid-

¹ One hundred and thirty students of grades 10, 11, and 12, in a Middle Western city took the pretest. Of these 130, 114 saw the film and took the post-test. The percentages which are reported are based upon these two figures. Because the students did not sign their names to the questionnaires, it would have been impossible to identify every individual paper. Examination schedules within the school conflicted with the study and not every person who saw the film was able to reply to the second giving of the questionnaire. By a random sampling method we could have eliminated 16 papers of the pretest, but we decided to include all the results because the number in both instances exceeded 100, and there was no special point for controlling the number as such.

ered as "checking" questions. One of these related to labor unions and it follows:

What is your own best guess about the opinions of young people whom you know?

3. *Labor Unions.* How many young men and women of high-school age are *unfriendly* to labor unions? How many young people *do you know* who are opposed to the idea of labor unions?

	ONLY NOBODY	MUCH LESS A FEW	ABOUT THAN HALF	MUCH MORE HALF	ALMOST EVERYBODY
	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent
<i>Before.</i>	21	38	13	18	4
<i>After</i>	20	40	14	17	1

Here, 27 per cent of the pretest replies are to be found in the upper three categories and in the post-test, 25 per cent of the replies are located there. It is evident that no significant shift occurred here, and because the film does not bring up issues related to labor unions, the results were the expected ones.

The fourth question was related to Negroes. The subject of tolerance was so sharply treated in the motion picture that the assumption was made that a shift toward minority groups might very well be reflected in attitudes toward Negroes, and so the following question was inserted:

What is your own best guess about the opinions of young people whom you know?

4. *Attitudes toward Negroes.* Some youth look down on the Negro people. They think that white people are better than Negroes. How many young people do you know who seem to be prejudiced against Negroes?

	ONLY NOBODY	MUCH LESS A FEW	ABOUT THAN HALF	MUCH MORE HALF	ALMOST EVERYBODY
	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent
<i>Before.</i>	7	40	19	16	2
<i>After</i>	3	60	16	9	0

It is to be noted that 34 per cent of the replies of the pretest

indicate that half, much more than half, or nearly all of the respondents were prejudiced. If the motion picture were to release more intense feelings directed against Negroes as a group, it was thought that this second test would reflect that change. Note, however, that the post-test shows only 21 per cent of the replies in the upper three categories, and note, too, that no replies are in the uppermost category. If the motion picture did indeed provoke discussion, and if this questionnaire is sensitive enough to pick up the differences which might have been brought about by the showing of the motion picture, then those differences, too, might be said to be in a favorable direction.

Question five related to the whole idea of antipathy toward foreigners. This was not stressed in the motion picture at all and there was no reason to expect that a significant change would be forthcoming.

What is your own best guess about the opinions of young people whom you know?

5. *Attitudes toward foreigners* Some youth are to be classed as anti-foreigners. They often use such terms as Hunkies, Dagoes, Polacks, Hunyaks, Wops, Frogs, Limeys, Canucks. Some youth dislike foreigners. How many young people *do you know* who are like this?

	ONLY NOBODY	MUCH LESS A FEW	ABOUT THAN HALF	MUCH MORE HALF	ALMOST THAN HALF	EVERYBODY
	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent
<i>Before</i>	29	44	13	8	1	0
<i>After</i>	22	55	14	7	1	1

Both before and after the movie was shown, 9 per cent of the responses were to be found in the three upper categories. No significant change occurred.

As was stated previously the motion picture is more than a detective story. It assumes much increased importance because a man is killed largely because he is a Jew. There was a very grave concern about whether the showing of the movie might increase hostility toward Jewish people. Question six was designed to get some evidence on that point.

What is your own best guess about the opinions of young people whom you know?

6 *Attitudes toward Jewish people.* You know the young people around you. What is their attitude toward Jewish people? How many could be counted as having prejudice against Jews?

	ONLY NOBODY	MUCH LESS A FEW	ABOUT HALF THAN HALF	MUCH MORE ABOUT HALF	ALMOST EVERYBODY
	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent
<i>Before</i>	15	45	19	13	5
<i>After</i>	8	56	21	10	4

Before the motion picture was shown, 20 per cent of the replies were in the upper three categories. After the motion picture was shown, 15 per cent of the replies are to be found in those categories. The change is small and probably insignificant. The evidence will probably help to quiet the fears of some people who are opposed to the public clarification of issues of this kind. There is a school of thought which holds that discussion of itself tends to produce more prejudice, to increase intolerance. Another school of thought maintains that it depends upon the discussion and how it is handled. These people believe that *Crossfire* was not only an artistic motion picture, but that it would also be an effective instrument for helping to clarify pro- and anti-Jewish sentiment, and that through this clarification, intolerance would be decreased. The evidence is conclusive in the sense that no adverse trend is apparent. The evidence is in the direction of diminishing intolerance but the difference is small.

Individuals who have worked with adolescent groups have frequently remarked upon a prevailing tendency to want to be like everybody else. There is a disposition among many adolescent groups "not to stick their necks out," "not to defend a position if large numbers are against it." In the film, the forces of law and order make use of a young Tennessee mountaineer in setting a trap for the murderer. He demurs on the ground that, after all, he would rather not have anything to do with the whole situation.

and asserts, moreover, that he cannot see why he should be the one to play an important part in the capture. There is a kind of sentiment that he does not want to be different from other people in his outfit; he would prefer to be treated and to live the way all the others do. On the assumption that his participation might reveal among adolescent audiences more of a disposition, after seeing the film, to assert independence in their thinking, the following question was included:

What is your own best guess about the opinions of young people whom you know?

7. *Attitude toward "being different"* Do most American youth want to be like everybody else? Will they keep quiet if they see that most of the others believe something else? Will they "stick their necks out" or would they much rather go along with the crowd? How many young people *do you know* who would rather keep quiet than stick up for something that other youth do not believe?

	ONLY NOBODY	MUCH LESS A FEW	ABOUT TIAN HALF	MUCH MORE HALF	ALMOST EVERYBODY
	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent
<i>Before</i>	2	32	18	28	11
<i>After</i>	4	33	19	26	12

Forty-seven per cent of the pretest replies were found in the highest categories. After the motion picture was shown, 43 per cent were found in these categories, and the change is probably not significant.

To gather some evidence on whether or not the agencies which deal with law and order would suffer or gain in prestige through the showing of this film, the following question was formulated:

What is your best guess about the opinions of young people whom you know?

8. *Attitudes toward the law.* How does American youth, as you know it, look at the agencies we have to preserve law and order? Policemen, detectives, prosecuting attorneys, judges, and others concerned with law enforcement? How many youth *do you know* who are, in general, unsympathetic, somewhat opposed toward people whose job it is to see that laws are obeyed?

	NOBODY	ONLY A FEW	MUCH LESS THAN HALF	ABOUT HALF	MUCH MORE THAN HALF	ALMOST EVERYBODY
	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent
<i>Before</i>	12	46	16	10	12	3
<i>After</i>	12	49	18	11	4	3

In the pretest, 25 per cent of the replies are in the highest categories and in the posttest, only 18 per cent are there. Law-enforcement agencies actively engaged in the capture of a murderer who killed because of hate, showed a gain in prestige.

The film *Crossfire* does not have any character who might be associated with the stereotyped figure commonly thought of as a liberal. We see a detective who is doing his work and doing it as well as he can. Some question was raised as to whether or not the film would encourage or discourage liberalism and hence the following question was proposed for inclusion:

What is your best guess about the opinions of young people whom you know?

9. Some people do not like persons who stand up for Negroes; they do not like people who stand up for Jews, they do not like people who defend labor unions; they do not like people who defend minority groups. How many youth *do you know* who dislike persons who stand up and defend Negroes, Jews, and other minority groups?

	NOBODY	ONLY A FEW	MUCH LESS THAN HALF	ABOUT HALF	MUCH MORE THAN HALF	ALMOST EVERYBODY
	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent
<i>Before</i>	25	51	11	11	1	0
<i>After</i>	23	55	11	10	0	0

A glance at the figures indicates that 12 per cent were in the upper three levels before the motion picture was shown, and 10 per cent of the replies were in those same levels after the motion picture was shown. There was no expectation of a significant increase with respect to a generalized attitude toward liberals, and the findings are consistent with that expectation. Some concern was manifested because the motion-picture industry was introduc-

ing a very controversial topic into theaters of America. What effect might this have on attitudes toward motion pictures in general? A question was proposed which asked for opinions with respect to motion pictures, the radio, and newspapers. The percentages before and after are reported in the following question:

What is your own best guess about the opinions of young people whom you know?

10 *Social issues and radio, motion pictures and the press* What does American youth think of the ways that the motion pictures, the radio, and the newspapers treat important social problems? Do these three give accurate, truthful pictures of life as it is, and do they use their influence to make our society a better one for all people? Since you know young people, how many of them believe that the motion picture, the radio, and the newspapers are far short of what they should be?

a) *Motion pictures are far from satisfactory.*

	NOBODY	ONLY A FEW	MUCH LESS THAN HALF	ABOUT HALF	MUCH MORE THAN HALF	ALMOST EVERYBODY
	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent
Before	11	47	17	15	8	1
After	12	45	22	8	10	1

The number in the upper three categories decreased from 24 per cent to 19 per cent, which may indeed indicate a favorable response to motion pictures like *Crossfire*.

b) *The radio is far from satisfactory*

	NOBODY	ONLY A FEW	MUCH LESS THAN HALF	ABOUT HALF	MUCH MORE THAN HALF	ALMOST EVERYBODY
	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent
Before	27	43	16	8	2	2
After	24	41	17	10	3	3

Before the motion picture, 12 per cent of the replies are to be found in the upper three categories and after the motion picture, about 16 per cent of the replies are to be found there. The difference is not significant, but it is in a direction that is less favorable to radio.

c) *The newspapers are far from satisfactory.*

	ONLY NOBODY	MUCH LESS A FEW	ABOUT THAN HALF	MUCH MORE HALF	ALMOST EVERYBODY
	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent
<i>Before</i>	19	36	22	11	8
<i>After</i>	19	41	14	12	9

Here again the differences are surely not significant, and here again they are in the direction of being somewhat unfavorable to newspapers.

By and large, the responses are in the direction of supporting those who feel that the motion picture is well accepted by those adolescents who saw it, and that the changes in their attitudes are in a favorable direction so far as they relate to issues directly touched upon in the motion picture *Crossfire*.

There is no proof in these figures that the motion picture *itself* brought about favorable or very significant and far-ranging changes in attitudes. But the reader must remember that we sought an answer to the question, "Will there be a serious adverse change in attitude as a result of exhibiting *Crossfire*?" To this question the response seems to be a very emphatic negative. No serious adverse changes are reflected in these figures.

All of the replies so far discussed were anonymous and were derived from questionnaires which students filled out before and after seeing the motion picture. In the questionnaires these students identified themselves in terms of religious affiliation, academic-grade level, sex, race of father and mother, and estimated annual family income. At this writing, the replies have not been analyzed in terms of these categories. Instead, they have been treated as one single large group.

Evidence from questionnaires is viewed with some suspicion when values are at stake. Therefore, part of our design included a plan to interview intensively some of the outstanding leaders and some of the outstanding rejects among the student body of this Ohio high school. A sociometric test was given to aid in identify-

ing individuals to be interviewed, and in the process, we also secured helpful advice from principals and teachers.

The interviews were conducted by a trained psychologist and each one consumed about one hour's time. Eighteen students were interviewed under circumstances that could be described as informal, free, and permissive. The verdict of these young people was unanimous. They liked the motion picture. They admired very much the characters of the detective and the sergeant. They had certain reservations about parts of the film, as almost every individual does about practically every film. These young people thought the murderer deserved very severe punishment, though some of them were vigorously opposed to the idea that he should be shot down by the forces of law and order. Some of the students pointed out in the interviews that the murderer was a product of circumstances; that he had learned this prejudice in a society which had to share the blame. Some of these young people believed that the role of the social order in creating prejudice should have been made more clear, and two of the students thought that somehow or other an effort should have been made to re-educate this murderer to the end that he might rid himself of his prejudices and become a wholesome, normal, human being.

All in all, the evidence from questionnaires and from interviews supplemented and re-enforced each other. For nearly all the individuals who saw it, *Crossfire* was an experience that tended to produce favorable reactions. These changes were small, but the effects that were produced were uniformly in the direction that could be described as favorable.

Many of the students interviewed said that this picture made one stop and think. This comment was especially appreciated because of a charge sometimes made about motion pictures in this field. It is said that the motion pictures do not challenge beliefs. They are instead simple, banal, propaganda devices. Where young high-school people, both boys and girls, say frequently that the motion picture was the cause for reflection, we have

AUDIENCE OPINION OF "CROSSEYRE"

	BOSTON			DENVER		
	Lobby Replies	Per cent	Mail Replies	Lobby Replies	Per cent	Mail Replies
1 How did you like this movie?	467		310	334		170
A very good movie		77½			64	
Pretty good movie		16½			21	
Just average		3			7	
Very poor movie		3			8	
2 Will you tell your friends to be sure and see this picture?	442		300	320		167
Yes		90½			72	
No		9½			28	
3 How did you like the detective?	467		296	339		169
Very good		78			74	
Pretty good		15½			16	
Average		5½			7	
Not so good		½			2	
Poor		½			1	
4 What is your opinion of Montgomery's character?	432		283	309		162
Like him		17			10	
He's all right		9			10	
Don't like him		74			80	
					24½	
					12	
					63½	
					16	
					11½	
					72½	

5	What about the ending?	445	276	334	169	77
	Montgomery got what he deserved . . .	82	78	85	0	0
	Montgomery should be allowed to escape .	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	0		
	Montgomery should be arrested and put					
	in jail	14	$18\frac{1}{2}$	$8\frac{1}{2}$		19
	Montgomery should have more courage at					
	the end and fight his way to freedom .	3	3	$6\frac{1}{2}$		4
6	Should they have more movies like this one?	440	285	328	164	
	Yes	73	66	74		$66\frac{1}{2}$
	No	16	23	$12\frac{1}{2}$		16
	I don't know	11	11	$13\frac{1}{2}$		$17\frac{1}{2}$
7	Would you like to see the picture changed so					
	Yes that the soldier, Leroy, refuses to help	$8\frac{1}{2}$	276	151	138	5
	No the detective capture Montgomery.	$91\frac{1}{2}$		87		95
	Yes Montgomery should have a better	44	229	257	151	$41\frac{1}{2}$
	No reason for killing Samuels.	56		$41\frac{1}{2}$		$58\frac{1}{2}$
	Yes Montgomery should get some punish-	14	207	164	140	12
	ment, then he should reform, and the					
	No film should end happily	86		86	66	88

some hope that Hollywood films directed toward other and equally serious social problems may have the same effect of stimulating a reappraisal of values

Section III

Adult Reactions

Although the film company had conducted a "sneak preview" in a theater in the Yorkville section of New York City with what it described as favorable results, we decided that we should continue our independent investigation by testing adult audiences in Boston, Massachusetts, and Denver, Colorado. We formulated a simple questionnaire and made arrangements for testing adult audiences immediately after the showing of the picture *Crossfire* was shown on Monday, June 30, in Boston at a large downtown theater, and on Monday, July 7, in Denver. In each instance, the audience did not know that it was going to see this particular picture, although it did know that it was going to see a preview of a Hollywood picture. The audience was asked to co-operate by filling out a questionnaire which was distributed in the lobby. This questionnaire was prepared as a self-sealing envelope, already stamped. A large number of individuals filled out the questionnaire in the lobby immediately after seeing the picture. Other individuals took the questionnaire home with them and mailed in their reply.

In Boston, of 1,500 questionnaires distributed, 467 persons answered the questionnaire in the lobby, 310 persons mailed it in—a more than 50 per cent return. In Denver, 1,000 copies of the questionnaire were distributed under the same conditions. Three hundred thirty-four persons filled out the questionnaire in the lobby; 170 mailed in their questionnaires—again, more than a 50 per cent return. The results are on pages 364 and 365.

Comments. In going through the questionnaire, we discovered that question four was ambiguous. Many interpreted the question to be one which required them to serve in the guise of dramatic

critics, so they were offering opinions. In a number of instances, extra comments were written in on the questionnaires, indicating their approval for the way in which Mr. Ryan dramatically handled the character of Montgomery, the soldier. We also discovered that the second part of question seven was ambiguous. Nonetheless, we are reporting the results of these two questions, for this is the way the tests were given.

Some general comments may be in order about the reactions as indicated above. It will be noted that when the respondents took their questionnaires home, they were somewhat more removed from the picture than they had been when they had seen it. This is revealed in the answers to question one. Despite the ambiguity of question four, the response to the item: "Don't like him," arose when the respondents took their questionnaires home—both in Boston and in Denver. Similarly, with the passing of time, respondents who mailed in their replies were even more approving of the soldier, Leroy, who helped the detective capture Montgomery. This was true both in Boston and in Denver. The same rise was indicated in the third part of question seven—for Denver alone. The interesting thing in this instance is that whereas in Boston approximately the same percentage of persons in the lobby and at home felt that Montgomery really got what he deserved, in Denver a large number of the audience who answered in the lobby wanted a less stringent ending; and those who answered from at home roughly approximated the Boston percentage in endorsing the justice in the film.

The Boston audience may have had a large proportion of Catholics in attendance. In Denver, the majority probably were Protestant in religion. In both places, our own observer, Mr. Herbert Lutz, supervised the distribution of the questionnaires and scored them. He noted in both cities a considerable amount of enthusiasm, excitement, and oral approval given to the picture by the audiences. Motion-picture theater officials, and we ourselves, were surprised at the large proportion of returns of the questionnaires.

The picture opened at the Rivoli on July 22. The reviews carried in the metropolitan New York press on July 23 were on the whole "rave" reviews. But their "raving" was far less important than the obvious learning process which had started within them and which they, in effect, gave voice to as they wrote their reviews. This is the salient characteristic of *Crossfire*: it initiates a learning process. It does not change anyone's basic attitudes; but it is one more instrument—many are needed—which can help in that learning process which ultimately will make of America a richer and fuller democratic society.

Dr. Louis E. Rath is Director of Research in the School of Education of New York University, and *Frank N. Trager* is National Program Director for the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

TULE LAKE—SOCIAL SCIENCE IN INACTION

Celia S. Deschin

The war provided many persons with experiences so vital that they became social laboratories in which to test hypotheses previously reserved for those moments when under the spell of ideas one tasted freedom. In some instances, the hypotheses thus resurrected and tested have since been applied to so-called normal situations—with disturbing results. An assignment as Welfare Counselor in the Segregation Center of the War Relocation Authority afforded me such an experience. The social laboratory was Tule Lake, California, a community of some 18,000 allegedly "disloyal" *évacués* of Japanese ancestry and some 400 administrative personnel (referred to officially as Caucasian). Except for its geographical isolation and certain externals, such as the primitive facilities under which the *évacués* lived, their confinement within a small area, the general barrenness of the location, and the barbed-wire fences separating the two groups, Tule Lake had most of the components of community life.

It had government, a police force, a general hospital, schools, limited employment possibilities (insufficient for all the *évacués*),

provision for a limited recreational program, a welfare department, and the prejudices that are a part of current community life. It had, in addition, provision for planned social research, which made it possible to examine at close range the effects of social research in this community. But to do this it will be necessary to go back to the beginnings of the War Relocation Authority.

Then because it is impossible not to make connections, at least in one's mind, a connection was made between the role of the social sciences in the War Relocation Authority program generally, and in community life today. This paper concerns itself with this analysis and the connection—for which ample documentation exists. The results offer a challenge to present methods of research in the social sciences and to their application. This challenge becomes increasingly more pertinent as the time in which to make our knowledge effective grows shorter.

With respect to the background of this experience, *i.e.*, the program of the War Relocation Authority as a whole, *specifically the facts were*

At the time of Pearl Harbor there existed a minority such as exists in all parts of the country, a minority whose problems had long been the subject of study by sociologists and anthropologists. Yet responsibility for a decision requiring knowledge of the way persons of Japanese descent might behave after the United States had declared war on Japan was delegated to a military commander, and he did not consult the experts in the social sciences. General de Witt's final report, "Japanese Evacuation from the West Coast," and subsequent publications by social scientists (1, 2, 4) ¹ confirm what was known at the time, namely, that the decision for mass exclusion of 110,000 persons of Japanese ancestry from a proscribed area on the West Coast was based on prejudice. There is reason to believe that what the social scientists knew was neither publicized nor applied. Yet this knowledge

¹ The numbers in the parentheses refer to the sources found in the bibliography at the end of the article.

might well have provided the basis for a very different kind of solution. According to Carey McWilliams (2), so far as this minority was concerned, "The most powerful economic, family and personal considerations dictated the necessity of continued allegiance to the United States." Among other significant sociological facts available at the time it was also known that two thirds of the 100,000 men, women, and children involved in the exclusion order were American born; the rest, for the most part, had lived in America from 30 to 50 years but were denied citizenship; and none had committed any acts of sabotage or espionage.

Nevertheless, what has been described by the President's Committee on Civil Rights as "the most striking mass interference since slavery with the right to freedom" occurred in spite of research in the social sciences and with little protest from social scientists. As a matter of fact the most documented study, *The Spoilage*, refers to the exclusion order as a "military misconception," but Carey McWilliams makes it clear beyond any doubt that it was a result of the racial discrimination which had existed on the West Coast before the war. With a wealth of documentation he makes the point that the Tolan Committee's going to the West Coast to determine public reaction to evacuation would not have been necessary if only national security had been involved.

But let us assume that because of the war hysteria following Pearl Harbor there was nothing that those in the social sciences could have done, up to this point, to prevent mass evacuation. But this is only an assumption. Had social scientists been accustomed to act on the basis of their knowledge, they might have utilized the Tolan Committee hearings as public forums in which to make known the truth. On the contrary, the organized pressure groups utilized the hearings to spread more hate, arouse more prejudice, and, in fact, provide a basis (in inflamed public opinion) for the mass-exclusion order, officially described as a "military necessity." And at least one group of social scientists, to my knowledge,

agreed in advance to postpone publication of its findings until after the war (4).

Because the decision was not based on knowledge, the order solved nothing; instead, it created unprecedented social problems. "What had been a small flame of race prejudice became a raging fire" (2) And the fire continued to rage, throughout the existence of the War Relocation Authority, as fuel continued to be added and no attempts were made to put out the fire. There is general agreement with the following: "Public and political pressure thus determined the form of the entire program. The original evacuation had not been intended to limit the free movement of the evacuees in any way once they were outside the narrow coastal strip of the Prohibited Zone. The reaction of the inland areas, however, resulted in evacuation becoming detention; . . ." (4)

As a nation we have become so lacking in social responsibility that when ruling² on the constitutionality of the exclusion order the Supreme Court first stated that the Army had a right to exclude as a safety measure; and the same day ruled that there was a difference between this and the orders to detain. Because the original exclusion order was made on the basis of a false premise, what followed was corrupted and became a kind of justification of the initial error. While it was intended that the evacuation be voluntary, this was changed when the 9,000 who had voluntarily left the prohibited area were turned back, some even physically maltreated, at the borders of most of the intermontane states. The exclusion order was taken as proof of disloyalty. The Federal Government thus found itself with the problem of finding housing for the 110,000 who were to be evacuated, and it called in the Army to assist with the problem. Temporary housing was established on race tracks and fairgrounds, family names were reduced to numbers, barbed-wire fences surrounded these assembly centers, and soldiers guarded them (presumably against violence from an aroused and prejudiced public) *Citizen 13660* (3) gives

² December 19, 1944

a graphic picture of the initial stages of the evacuation. The use of barbed-wire fences, military guards, and watchtowers with searchlights playing over the area continued in the relocation centers which followed, though they were in isolated parts of the country.

It is strange indeed to treat the victims of persecution as if they were prisoners, and the malefactors as if they were victims. This fallacy, unfortunately, continued to characterize the program and planning of the War Relocation Authority. Instead of questioning this, the W.R.A. planned as if faced with either an entirely new set of facts or a new situation. Even if the W.R.A. had deemed it inadvisable or inappropriate to look upon the exclusion order as an error during the duration of the war, its policies could have reflected the gross injustice done the *évacués* as well as the fact that they had been convicted of nothing. Instead, the W.R.A. adopted what Carey McWilliams refers to as a "policy of non-intervention." While McWilliams is alluding, here, to a period which precedes my experience in Tule Lake after it had become a segregation center, the policy of nonintervention had by this time become well established, at least in Tule Lake. Each center had considerable autonomy.

How did this policy of "nonintervention" manifest itself? The West Coast delegation responsible for the original stirring up of latent racial and economic prejudice was responsible for continuous investigations of the W.R.A. The slogan, "Send the 'Japs' out of the West Coast," changed to "How are you going to tell a loyal from a disloyal Jap," and was subsequently changed to "Separate the disloyal from the loyal" as the Dies Committee got going full swing. The need for a scapegoat was real since there was fear on the part of these politicians that the exclusion order might be ruled unconstitutional. It would take a far more exhaustive analysis than is possible in the space of this article to demonstrate the effect of this pressure on W.R.A. policy. Substantiation is available in the references 1, 2, and 3 at the end of this article.

While those responsible for W.R.A. policy, including social scientists at the Washington level, both as consultants and as staff members, as individuals knew all that has been outlined briefly above, they apparently did not feel free to act on their knowledge. Not perceiving the extent to which this would corrupt their subsequent plans, they proceeded on a basis of trying to prove how loyal the *évacués* were. This was done initially through a tacit admission that their loyalty would have to be proved before they could resettle. But to prove one's loyalty when one has been accused of no act of disloyalty is to admit disloyalty. Thus did this policy play into the hands of the reactionaries. And in other matters, the W.R.A. yielded to public pressure, as in, for instance, setting wages for employment on the projects at \$12, \$16, and \$19 a month respectively so as to be below the minimum paid the American soldier (this, incidentally, was not increased when the soldiers' pay was increased). When, through a policy of encouraging relocation on the outside, the F.B.I. made a thorough investigation of each *évacué*, the W.R.A. apparently did not question this. There was concern only that it took, on the average, three months for each such investigation—during which time jobs were lost, and the persons involved remained in the centers discouraged and disgusted, as one can well imagine.

A change in the leadership of the W.R.A., after the first few months of its existence, from Milton S. Eisenhower to Dillon S. Myer, both from the Department of Agriculture, led to changes in policy. When taken into protective custody, the *évacués* were promised the minimum essentials of living, working, and participation in community life. They had hardly gotten their personal belongings settled in the relocation centers, following some five to six months in hastily improvised race tracks and fairgrounds, when Mr. Myer embarked on a plan of all-out resettlement with a view to eventual liquidation of the relocation centers. While admirable in some of its aspects, and the result of a genuine desire

to permit the *évacués* to return to normal living, it did not take into consideration their insecurity, or the hostility of the public outside, which the Dies Committee investigations did not permit to abate for any long period of time.

In order to facilitate resettlement of the *évacués* on a group rather than an individual basis, it was necessary to obtain a blanket endorsement of them as "loyal." For this purpose a registration of the entire population of the centers was undertaken which involved a long and complicated questionnaire, and included questions of loyalty to the United States. This was tied in with an army program to recruit volunteers. Because of many tensions within the centers, the loyalty questions met with overt protest in some of them. According to the authors of *The Spoilage*, in several relocation centers, "the mechanics of registration were handled skillfully and, as a consequence, no overt resistance developed." This cannot, however, serve to condone the basic error contained in the policy itself since many persons who answered the loyalty question in the negative were using it as a means of protest.

Because the greatest protest occurred at Tule Lake and for other administrative reasons, Tule Lake was selected as the segregation center. To it were sent those persons who had answered the loyalty question in the negative. There were some who remained, somehow, at Tule Lake because they were too weary to move on. They were not forced to leave since few within the W.R.A. seriously believed that all who went to, or remained in, Tule Lake were really disloyal.

What is disturbing is that the W.R.A. apparently had not expected resistance to the registration procedure! This is all the more disturbing because by this time a department of social analysis was being organized, with a community analyst (chiefly anthropologists) in each center who had access to the Project Director. Originally, one center, Poston, which initially was under the

management of the Office of Indian Affairs, had established social scientific observations (1). By November 1942 a strike had occurred there during which the research project had played an important part in effecting a satisfactory settlement. Shortly thereafter an incident occurred in Manzanar where there were no trained observers on the spot, and the settlement arrived at was less satisfactory. Thus social analysis came into being at the centers. There had been, as has already been indicated, consultation at the policy-making level and the employment of anthropologists within the W R A in the Washington office before this.

But it would not have needed social scientists to have realized how all this must have seemed to the *évacués* to be charged with no offense or crime; to be subjected to a barrage of hate through the press, radio, and magazines, to be separated from their homes; to have suffered great losses in property, to be refused an opportunity to serve in the armed forces (as many were before evacuation); to have one's educational plans interrupted—only to have to live under primitive conditions and be subjected to tests of loyalty!

There are two possible explanations; either this was recognized and courage was lacking to translate it into administrative policy; or the *évacués* were not considered to have the same feelings as other human beings. As one *évacué* put it when told that a "no" answer to the loyalty question meant that it would have to be put down that he was disloyal, replied.

"Then put it down that for the present I'm disloyal. You don't understand. Someone has to take a stand against this pushing of citizens around."

The quotation is taken from a study by a community analyst³ whose reports showed unusual understanding. Unlike welfare

³ To reveal the identity of this analyst would serve no constructive purpose since it has not been possible to learn what attempts were made to utilize the material.

analysts, however, community analysts had access to the administration. Why did nothing come of reports such as these? My reports regarding critical situations, especially during the period of renunciation, met with no administrative response.

At Tule Lake it was generally known that *évacués* branded as "disloyal" had either come there to be with their families, or in protest, or for a variety of reasons having little or nothing to do with loyalty as such. Yet the center was administered as if the *évacués* were really disloyal. And the political pressure continued, with the Dies Committee now calling for the deportation of the *évacués*, especially after an incident which had occurred at Tule Lake and which was settled by calling in the Army to administer the center for some four months.

Pressure on the Department of Justice by the Dies Committee forced Attorney General Biddle to imply that an act of Congress to strip the Nisei at Tule Lake of their citizenship would be constitutional (2). Thus did the Department of Justice sponsor an amendment to the Nationality Act permitting voluntary renunciation of citizenship on American soil. It was hoped thereby to influence only a small fanatical pro-Japan group (obviously disturbed) which had developed at Tule Lake—to which the center administration had closed its eyes. Instead, there followed a wave of renunciation applications from young boys and girls in high school; 77 per cent of all the males on the project; 59 per cent of all the females (4). Again a policy, this time translated into law, was established with insufficient knowledge and understanding of the effect on human beings. The Department of Justice had a good understanding of conditions at Tule Lake, as did the W.R.A. It had, apparently, little understanding of the effect of center life on the residents, despite reports of this which were presumably available. In my department little use was made of reports describing the fears of the *évacués* now that the West Coast was open. These fears can perhaps be best summed up by the following excerpt from one of

my reports: "I'd rather be in a breadline in Japan. . . . At least there I will look like everybody else." Reports alone, as Leighton found out in his study (1), were not sufficient to influence administrative action

Mass hysteria was in the air. Individual and social disintegration had set in. Rumors were believed as if fact. The small group of fanatics that had been permitted to influence the center residents unduly extended its influence. Since the rescinding of the mass-exclusion order, the administration at Tule Lake had done little to counteract rumors about the closing of the center, and even less than before to stimulate leadership on the part of the more progressive and more normal groups among the *évacués* through improved educational facilities or increased community activities.

Despite the wave of renunciations from persons whom everyone, including the hearing officers of the Department of Justice, knew to be Americans at heart, the renunciation machinery continued to move. There was even current the rumor that young people were rehearsed as to their replies at the hearings. For many it was a psychological weapon with which to strike back at a country and a government which had done them so much injustice and harm. But applications were accepted; hearings continued because no one who cared knew how, or dared, to stop the proceedings; and those who could, did not. Thus the policy of the lesser evil which followed on the heels of evacuation, and which had derived from the initial error, continued on to its inevitable, illogical conclusion. (In presenting a bird's-eye view of the War Relocation Authority policy from the standpoint primarily of its failures, as it were, there is no desire to minimize the difficulties which that agency had to cope with. It is my conviction that science does not flourish where critical analysis is discouraged.) Among the few who cared, despite differences in background, experience, training, and willingness to risk status to assume the kind of responsibility indicated above, there was something in common which

seemed to stem from our education and the current vagueness as to the responsibility that comes with knowledge. Even those of us who *wanted* to act, and were willing to take the risk involved, *did not know how to act*. Moreover, we did not feel *we had the right to act*.

It would seem fair, here, to generalize that something was lacking in our education, at least in reference to our philosophy of responsibility. It is difficult to describe the feelings of despair, futility, and frustration when one is sure that a given policy is wrong and has the knowledge to overcome this and substitute a policy based on truth but is immobilized because the control is in the hands of those who neither know nor wish to know. Thus, until we in the social sciences dare to challenge fallacies in the basic premises upon which social organizations and programs are planned and carried out, even our activity will be ineffectual.

Inaction at a time of crisis destroys the opportunity to shape a policy based on knowledge. What is left is a sorry choice between two evils, unless the basic error in policy is challenged when and where it exists. There is a close connection between the present unchallenged error behind the President's loyalty order and the error behind the mass-exclusion order. Both were born out of a violation of civil rights in the silence of acquiescence.

On the basis of the experience at Tule Lake and some ten years of observation of the social sciences, the following brief analysis provides the "connection" to which reference was made in the introduction. It would seem that in general the facts are:

When action is required leaders who have achieved a reputation for acting are usually called upon, whether they have the knowledge or competence required to take appropriate action. In times of crisis this is especially true. In peace, business experts are the ones likely to be called upon, in war, military experts.

Since social scientists have as yet gained little reputation for action, they are not called upon to formulate policy or plan pro-

grams. Whether they are called in as advisers or consultants depends on many variables, ranging from personal factors to the need for bringing prestige to the plan of action; sometimes, pertinence of knowledge is also involved.

If, on the other hand, an important decision is made without the requisite knowledge, and the effects are so serious as to require "outside" (what is usually meant is "expert") help to enforce the decision, social scientists may be called in to help administer the decision or to minimize its harsh effects. When the decision is based on ignorance, prejudice, or political pressure, social scientists are frequently called upon to "pull the chestnuts out of the fire," or, to use the vernacular, "to pick up the pieces"—unfortunately pieces of human beings.

Why are we unable to make our knowledge count where we have the most competence—in the area of human relations? Knowledge of people and their social conditions have long been used effectively in the area of property relations. Why are we content to let others, far less qualified, make important decisions concerning people while we are grateful for the opportunity to be helpful?

Many fears and some confusion hold us back; these are both personal and professional. It is possible to discuss here only the most basic ones. First, there is the criticism that the social sciences are not objective. Yet it is significant that the most subjective of all human beings, the artist, has given us the most objective pictures of the world and its people since time immemorial. Like the artist, we all carry within ourselves an instrument for testing the truth and objectivity of knowledge about people. The instrument is used destructively by reactionaries who deny the validity of knowledge from the social sciences, and affirm "common sense," of which they claim a superabundance. To use this instrument requires that the user come to terms with himself and, especially if he be engaged in research, that he be aware that the same moti-

variations governing behavior in general govern his behavior as well as that of the persons or groups studied.

It is also frequently stated that research in the social sciences is not supposed to be scientific and, of course, it is not, until or unless it is tested out under living conditions. Sometimes, it would seem as if we did not have sufficient conviction about our knowledge to put it to the test. In this respect, many groups in the community are more scientific than those engaged in social research.

Then there is the fear that knowledge or truth (with a capital "T") is the final, absolute goal never attained in life—instead of being relative, *i.e.*, related to a specific culture, people, and period, and available to those who do not fear knowledge and its application. Viewed in this light, application becomes a part of research; and knowledge so applied is translated into policy and program planning.

But the problems are not all outside the social sciences. There is a considerable lag between research and application, for which we are responsible, even in so mild a form of application as publication, delay frequently being the condition of publication. There is also a lack of effective working relationships among the specialized divisions of the human-relations field so that knowledge may be pooled, co-ordinated, and tested as a basis for appropriate action. There is a need also to establish a working relationship with those in the physical sciences, especially those involved in atomic research who themselves are aware that the results of their research may be used destructively. Results of research in the physical sciences have long been used to preserve property rights rather than human rights; results in the social sciences have been delayed, minimized, and attacked without too much protest from social scientists.

But transcending these problems evolving specifically out of the experience at Tule Lake is the importance of formulating some plan of action in the event, as so frequently happens, that those

whose responsibility it is to act fail to act on the basis of available knowledge. When a man is drowning, we do not ask whether it is our responsibility to save him, we make an attempt to save him. When a whole country, a whole world is in danger, are we to sit idly by waiting for the opportunity to say our piece? Or are we to prove our ability to sit in the policy-making chairs (always more comfortable than the corridors) by showing up the ineptitude, the irresponsibility, the ignorance of those in power—if need be? Today knowledge is the only secure power.

If we are to realize the full democracy our forefathers inscribed in the Constitution and in the Bill of Rights, scientists, especially those in the area of human relations, must learn to feel and respond to the pressure of their knowledge, and to act jointly on the basis of truth; for truth is always on the side of progress. We must do this even when the controls are not in our hands.

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Celia S. Deschm, A.B., M.S., is enrolled in the Center for Human-Relations Studies of New York University, she is also teaching social casework to employed social workers.

BOOK REVIEWS

American Daughter, by IRA BELL THOMPSON Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1946, 301 pages.

This volume is one of the few autobiographies of a Negro woman. It is the story of a girl who grew up in the Middle West's rural and small-town poverty, secured a college degree, then moved to "Black Metropolis" to earn her living. It is an amusing, subjectively told story, lacking in race hate and abounding in the joy of personal and racial living, and in the experience of "getting some place," even though colored and female. Miss Thompson's brief experience leads her to conclude that "my people and your people can work together and live together in peace and happiness if they but have the opportunity to know and understand each other." The American daughter is revealed as a child of unaffected simplicity and Galilean humanism.

IRA DE A. REID

The Modern Junior High School, by WILLIAM GRUHN AND H. R. DOUGLASS. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1947, viii + 492 pages.

The Modern Junior High School is intended to serve three purposes. "a) to give an adequate statement of the history, philosophy and functions of the junior high school, b) to reveal prevailing nation-wide practices, and c) to suggest and describe improved programs and procedures not yet common in the typical school."

It has textbook organization, format, and documentation. Statements in the book are based upon the experience of the authors, surveys of literature and practices, and the opinions of students of the junior high school. Many references are made to a random sampling survey (conducted by the authors) of practices in 519 three-year junior high schools scattered throughout the nation. *The Modern Junior High School* is a good description of present practice.

The book is divided into five sections. Origins and Functions, The Instructional Program, Guidance and the Extra Curricular Activities, Organization and Administration; and Evaluation and Improvement.

In my opinion the chief weakness of the volume is the scarcity of specific, detailed suggestions for immediate improvement of the junior

high school. Notable exceptions to this criticism are the chapters, "Modern Trends in Curriculum Practice," "The Home Room," and "Extra Class Activities."

KIMBALL WILES

Dynamic Mental Hygiene, by ERNEST R GROVES AND CATHERINE GROVES Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Stackpole Sons, 1946, 559 pages

Here is a text suitable for an introductory college course. In Part I the student is made aware of the vast scope of the field and given insight into its biological, medical, psychological, psychiatric, educational, sociological, social work, legal, home, and religious aspects. Part II, the "dynamic" side of the treatise, takes up the functional angle of family counseling, covering the role of the counselor, his methods, the personality he should develop, and the future of his profession. The addenda contains provocative lesson plans, well-classified references, and a glossary.

The authors emphasize their desire to demonstrate the importance of mental hygiene from both the preventive and curative points of view for the "health and mental adequacy" of the individual. They believe this objective should be inherent in the programs of all schools.

Basically, their approach is Freudian, affirming the importance of the family and early influences; in application they lean toward Rank's will therapy and time limitation. Defining personality as compounded of emotion, thought, and action, they stress the abiding personal attitudes the family creates. As the Groves take up each phase of science affecting mental stability they orient it to this familial setting and reiterate the totality of causations.

For instance, while acknowledging the environmental force contended in early social work, they include heredity and endocrinology as equivalent biologic drives. On the medical side they illustrate the effects of physical dysfunctions but join them to emotional reactions. Especially good are the psychological and psychiatric chapters for the undergraduate, for the authors assume little background in psychology. They distinguish between the instinct and behaviorist schools and present adequate but simple exposition of the tenets of Freud, Jung, Rank, and Adler. Neuroses, their symptoms, probable causes, and adjustments are defined and analyzed.

Next, these foregoing factors—the family, biology, medicine, psychology, and psychiatry—are considered as manifested in education, law, sociology, the home, social work, and religion. The growth, stultification, or warping of the child in his responses to curriculum and teachers are pointed out. Environment as a shifting and individual rather than as a static and group determinant is explored. The authors take up, rather briefly, therapy as utilized by social agencies. The legal side of mental hygiene is shown to cover such problems as marriage laws, criminology, juvenile delinquency, slum clearance, economic security, child protective laws, and health supervision. The responsibility of the home is accentuated in relieving all these pressures, in creating not only a refuge but a fertile spot for the nurturing of growth and democratic living. A review of the emotional and intellectual weight which religion wields concludes Part I.

Part II defines and evaluates methods in applying the information of Part I to family counseling. As the authors admit, this is a pioneering procedure with as yet few established criteria; nor, to be effective, should dogmas ever govern the diagnostician. This undoubtedly accounts for the fumbling and verbosity one feels in the authors' analysis.

Nevertheless, Part I also suffers from repetition and contradictions in policy, for instance, the frequent use of case histories after the statement that employing such histories is a negative approach inviting vague generalizations. Indeed one is impressed by the impasse that so frequently concludes these cases. Also, since the authors point out the increasing industrial interest in mental hygiene, it would add validity to expand their observations along that line.

However, the range of the text and the method utilized are splendidly designed to create interest and afford practical assistance to the layman as well as to the prospective specialist.

CHARLES E. SKINNER

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JUVENILE DELINQUENCY—A PARENT-TEACHER CHALLENGE

J. M. Master

The recent national conference called by the United States Attorney General for the purpose of organizing a concerted effort to combat juvenile delinquency has created a growing awareness of the problem and its seriousness. Press and radio publicity have brought the matter to the attention of every town and hamlet in the country. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, also has contributed largely to focusing public attention upon the scope and nature of youth's contribution to crime in the United States. Available statistics leave no doubt of the fact that crime—as well as delinquency—is pivotal upon youth.

What causes boys and girls to turn "bad" and become involved in delinquent and criminal behavior? When compared, individual cases do not show identical causal factors. Analyses of numerous cases of delinquency, however, do reveal general, dominant, causal factors. These are listed most frequently under the categories of hereditary and environmental causes. More recently,

the research studies of the Yale University Institute of Human Relations have stressed the relational psychological determinants of social maladjustment as causal in the delinquency pattern

Scientific research has established the fact that the problem of causation is a complex one. The development of a criminal career is a chain of multiple, cumulative causation. My personal experience during the past twenty years of professional work with delinquents and criminals and the experience of many colleagues substantiate this conclusion. The home, school, hereditary factors, parents, teachers, companions, neighborhood, individual experiences, and many other factors play a part in the development of delinquency. The press, radio, and motion-picture screen are not exempted. Our laws and social organization are also contributory

The theory of natural causation of antisocial conduct, *i e*, that such conduct in one mode of expression of rational behavior, has been established as valid. Consequently, juvenile delinquency treatment measures cannot be indiscriminately or universally applied. We must first ascertain in each individual case the causes of unacceptable behavior and then adopt treatment to those causes. Although such general factors known to contribute to delinquency as slums, lack of adequate recreational facilities, poverty, and vice can be combated on a general level of action, the juvenile delinquent is an individual and must be treated on that level for effective results

Parents and teachers have the closest relationship with the child during the period when "the foundations of delinquent behavior are usually laid." The United States Children's Bureau considers childhood "the period which students of child life regard as most significant in the development of personality and character" Dr. William Healy of the Judge Baker Guidance Center states " . . . delinquency very frequently is the beginning of a criminal career and crime is the continuance into manhood of conduct tendencies which started in childhood or early youth."

In their studies of *delinquents and criminals*, Drs. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck found that two thirds to four fifths of the thousand adult criminals studied first showed delinquent behavior in childhood, while the onset of misbehavior among the thousand juvenile delinquents studied occurred at the average age of between nine and ten years.

No children are born predisposed to delinquency, but many become delinquent. One of the most striking facts about delinquency and crime is that "serious criminal careers begin in childhood and adolescence," according to Dr. F. Thrasher, another outstanding authority. Initial child training and child guidance rest primarily with the parents. The child's period of preschool life is controlled by the parents and they, therefore, have the greatest opportunities and responsibilities for the child's proper habit-training and character-building. Unfortunately, many parents are inadequately prepared, or incapable, or disregarding of these duties—duties are not always pleasant or self-satisfying. Many parents also are "responsible for a whole series of frustrating events in the life of the child," leading to antisocial behavior evidenced by delinquency.

The fact must not be overlooked, however, that the child is still in the formative stage when attending the primary-school—even high-school—grades. Delinquent behavior patterns show themselves in easily recognizable form in school and the classroom. Adolescent delinquency is not always the direct derivative of earlier childhood delinquency. "These facts certainly place at the door of the school the responsibility for the early recognition of delinquency and at least participation in a treatment program." School regimes impose new situations and demands upon the child, often leading to maladjustment. School authorities and teachers who fail to maintain an alert awareness and willingness to meet the needs of their child-behavior problems contribute to the delinquency problem.

The individual child can do little toward modifying or changing hereditary or environmental conditions. Hereditary factors *per se* do not have any high coincidence with delinquency. Environmental factors conducive to delinquency can be altered. A united parent-teacher front can do something constructive in preventing and combating delinquency. During the preschool period, parents function in a parent-teacher role. Teachers, in turn, function in a surrogate-parent role. Both parents and teachers share the responsibility of constructive participation in the growth and development of the child's character and personality. Proper character and personality growth of the child contribute vitally to child behavior.

Richard S. Tuthill, the first judge of the Chicago Juvenile Court, on the basis of his observations of numerous delinquent children, concluded that, "To the formation of a good character in any child kindly admonition, wholesome example, constant watchfulness, and an infinite patience are absolute essentials." The Yale Institute of Human Relations, in a study of aggressive behavior consequent to frustration, found that "Superego or conscience is now believed to be established primarily through the existence of affectional bonds between a child and its parents; when these are weak or lacking or when the parents are not fit models to pattern after, character formation does not proceed normally and the individual grows up deficient in those internalized restraints which, when combined with external social forces, ordinarily keep most individuals within the bounds of conventional conduct." In relative degree, this finding applies also to the relationship between teacher and child.

The function of our educational system in the community should be a much broader one: our schools and teachers occupy a functional role closely related not only to the child, but also to the child's parents. The effectiveness of our school system reaches out directly into the life of the community. Our schools are the

primary centers for citizenship training. Improvement of character and development of personality directly affect citizenship. The efforts of parents and teachers must be co-ordinated and brought to bear upon improving the child's training for good citizenship. So doing would constitute a sound delinquency-prevention program. The child must be trained to meet the obligations of democratic citizenship as well as to enjoy its privileges. The requirements of good citizenship must be instilled in the child both at home and at school. Both home and school are very important socializing institutions.

Parents are responsible for more than the mere provision of food, clothes, shelter, and catering to the child's whims and fancies. School authorities and teachers are responsible for more than the mere instructions in the three R's. Parents and teachers have the duties of instructing the child in proper citizenship and setting proper examples of good citizenship. They have forsaken duty and their responsibilities toward the child and youth if they assume that exclusive responsibility rests with one, or with the other. Their responsibility is a joint one and their efforts must be supplementary, with the common objective being improved character-building, better personality-development, and good citizenship.

Eradication of neighborhood conditions fostering delinquency, improvement of community standards of living, and combating unfavorable civic and political alignments constitute parent-teacher challenges. Delinquent careers once started upon are not easily checked. The role of prevention, therefore, is the more urgent—where such needs are overlooked by parents, teachers often are situated ideally as community focal centers to initiate delinquency-prevention measures. It should be incumbent upon each of our teachers to take a revitalized role in delinquency prevention. Training for good citizenship—a practical and available preventive of delinquency and future criminality—should be their first objective.

Principles of good citizenship can be sponsored through routine and special classroom activities, special projects, and extracurricular programs. Setting a proper example requires teacher participation in community and civic affairs which provide proper guidance, precepts, and leadership. Education still is the best medium of reaching the child in both the home and the classroom. Every child should be educated to the *acceptance of a higher authority; increased self-control and self-discipline; the basic requirements of team play, and the essentials of a democratic attitude*

Teachers who are overtaxed by large classes, harassed by their own personal problems, or worried about their social and economic security, cannot play a vital role in delinquency prevention. Parents and the general public must recognize the crying need for improving and extending educational facilities in the fight against juvenile delinquency. Equally essential is the need of attracting more and better qualified personnel to the field of education—greater recognition, improved conditions of work, and better remuneration would accomplish this. The public must recognize the futility of fighting juvenile delinquency on the isolated fronts of police regulation and law enforcement. To reduce and prevent delinquency and crime our efforts must be united and concentrated on all fronts of effectiveness.

(The views of the writer, as expressed in this article, do not necessarily represent those of the Judges of the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York.)

J. M. Master, A.M., is United States Probation Officer for the Southern District of New York.

LEGISLATION AS A SOCIAL CONTROL IN NEW YORK STATE

Marguerite Cartwright

On March 12, 1945, the most explicitly expressed mandate yet created on the subject of racial and religious discrimination in employment was added to the statute books in New York State. The question has often been raised as to why New York was the first to formulate public policy in this realm of economic life. The answer is long and complex for it can be sought only in New York's history where the socially advanced thinking inherent in such legislation has long been potentially present. Equality of opportunity as a social ideal is deeply rooted here in custom and tradition. From the very beginning the state was made up of a conglomerate population, drawn from the ends of the earth, seeking liberty and freedom in the New World. These early beginnings in the direction of increased civil rights tended to mitigate widespread opposition as each new step was taken.

It is known that social controls are not created in a vacuum. This is particularly true of legislation that takes place in a socio-historical context of pervasive political and social action that provides stimulation for such action, opens lines of development, exercises restraints, and, in other words, is manipulative in function. Old social controls are outmoded, and in order to effect the needed changes the social scientist must "recapture the past in the service of current action"¹ and determine "what things have to be done in what ways and in what sequence, in order to systematically chart the way ahead"². It has become necessary to "change all institutional areas in order to prevent the continuous disruption of the changes which occur in single areas". There is need to discover where and how blockage occurs in the application of

¹ Robert S. Lynd, *Knowledge For What?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1939), p. 131.

² *Ibid.*, p. 250.

requisite change and to formulate the precise steps necessary to eliminate the blockage."³

The deliberate application of social science to the control of human behavior must include a historical study of the many and varied types of action, and the milieu out of which progress has been made. While it is true that the law is only one agency of social control it exercises a vital function in that it systematically introduces sanctioned patterns that canalize behavior in the direction of socially desirable ends. Thus, in the words of Dr. Lynd, "The individual is relieved of the necessity of coping with certain issues in their complexities."⁴ During the present period many factors, including an economic depression and a global war, have loosened institutional controls, causing them to be replaced by a new set of controls more relevant to the needs of the time. Minorities, especially Negroes, because of high visibility and other factors, have long faced unique, economic disabilities.

In New York, during the depression of 1937, the State Legislature created a Temporary Commission on the Condition of the Urban Colored Population. It was directed "to examine economic health and living conditions, and recommend measures,"⁵ including amendments to the Civil Rights Law. Included in the recommendations of this Commission was a constitutional mandate outlawing all forms of racial and religious discrimination. This was written into the constitution and became law on November 8, 1938.⁶ While the weight of the constitution and judicial practice had long been on the side of racial equality, this addition to the Bill of Rights was of great significance. Probably never before had a provision been made with such broad implication. It was "without parallel in the Constitution or the laws of the United States . . . [and] supplied the rock foundation upon which could be

³ Robert S. Lynd, *Knowledge For What?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1931), p. 248.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

⁵ Laws of New York State (1931), chapter 858.

⁶ Article I, paragraph 9, Section 40.

built legislation prohibiting racial and religious discrimination in employment”⁷

With the outbreak of a war to make the Four Freedoms safe everywhere in the world, there was a growing consciousness of the extent to which practice fell short of preaching. The problem of discrimination was seen to have ramifications beyond the local, or even national, scene. It became apparent that it would be necessary to “do something big and do it soon.”⁸ This need was articulated by numerous opinion-forming personalities who exerted influences and did much in gaining popular support. Further implementation emerged in the formation of unity and race-relations committees. Campaigns to outlaw various types of discrimination took on renewed vigor. There was a mushroom growth of organizations devoted to remedial action.

The problem was now too acute to be ignored, for the issue had reached the proportions of becoming a factor in the outcome of the death struggle between fascism and American democracy—the weakness of which was suddenly spotlighted on a world scale. The strategy of the enemy was to play upon internal tensions, it was therefore necessary to close ranks in order to attain greater internal unity. Most important, the ideological nature of the war was such that the racial doctrines of the enemy could only be repudiated by pressing for a program of action.

Also, war stimulated manpower shortage emphasized the value of producers as well as fighters, and all workers regardless of color rose in importance lest the military and industrial potential would be placed in jeopardy. Thus, economic discrimination had to be faced not only in relation to minorities but in the interest of the well-being of the country as a whole. It was no longer possible to operate within the framework of employment customs so

⁷ Charles S. Tuttle, in a speech before the Friends of Democracy delivered at New York University.

⁸ Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: International Publishers Company, 1946), p. 1022.

at variance with political and social realities. Because these new conditions demanded change in order to avoid disastrous social consequences, the outgrowth was a policy more consistent with the tenets of American democracy.

There were other factors too. Minority groups themselves had waged long and continued warfare, in a disciplined and energetic way. They had the co-operation of an increasing number of individuals and organizations. Pressure groups of interracial and religious character became a compelling force in New York life. In the early thirties the disadvantages of a minority status in the administration of relief and public-works programs had been lessened by the New Deal which leaned heavily on the American creed. Thus conditioned, the minority looked to Washington for aid in its desire to participate in the economic phase of the war effort. Out of this grew a threatened "March on Washington" which was called off only on the promulgation of an Executive order which "reaffirmed the policy of the United States that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of a person in defense industries or government because of race, creed, color or national origin."⁹

Thus, on a national scale, there was a "new point of progress in the constant effort of the American conscience to widen the horizon of social justice."¹⁰

The national F.E.P.C. became an easily comprehended symbol of wide implication for, while it was saddled with limited power and small budgetary provisions, it was able to exercise considerable influence. It proved that change was possible and that this was a proper area for governmental intervention. Under the impetus of a total war, when discrimination in employment is outlawed, it largely vanishes.

⁹ *Minorities in Defense* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office 1942), p. 15.

¹⁰ Report of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination, *Legislative Document*, No. 6, p. 15.

As to the minority worker, he was able to improve his economic condition, learn new skills, enter the trade unions, and otherwise set precedents on which new claims could be based.

Actually the manpower scarcity, plus the public attitude toward full utilization of all human resources toward furthering the war effort, were also important factors. When the compelling motives of war disappeared it would be easy to slip back into practices at variance with the democratic ideal. Nonetheless, there had been new areas of contact, and the entire period was one of important social change. There was a large amount of legislative activity, together with a far-reaching enlargement of the function of government that was to set up a chain reaction that could not easily be stopped.

On the New York State level, the determination of the goal of achievement desired had been established by the Convention of 1937. Nondiscriminatory hiring had been established as a matter of state concern. The stage had been set. Individuals as well as organized groups made use of every form of pressure. The subject of racial and cultural relations was widely discussed in the press, over the radio, in books, and even in the theater. The courts had become more sympathetic; and civil-rights legislation was more generally respected and enforced. The New Jersey Supreme Court had deemed the right to earn a livelihood a property right guaranteed by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.¹¹

This milestone in progressive legislation was not catastrophic nor explainable, nor inspired by any single cause. It was the cumulative result of many and complex forces and a variety of motivations and material interests. It was the result of all that had preceded it; in short, it was an idea whose time had come. The 1938 law had provided a basis on which New York citizens were to be accepted on their individual worth and allowed to serve according to their ability.

¹¹ *Carroll v. Local 269*, 133, N. J. Lg. 144.

In the passage of this measure, then, there was no break in New York's legislative history, but actually an achievement of remarkable consistency. The power of the state was called in to protect the right to employment. The resultant state agency is armed with powers constituting in the aggregate the most complete equipment ever embodied in legislation on the subject anywhere. Employment without discrimination is established as a civil right, and an agency is set up to protect that right on the hypothesis that "the right to life can have no fulfillment without the right to work."

Marguerite Cartwright has based this article on the material she collected for her doctorate study at New York University

THE VETERAN AND RACE RELATIONS

Henry A. Singer

A recent poll conducted through the Social Science Research Council brought out "a lively list" of race relations grievances directed chiefly against the armed forces. It pointed out that the Army waited too long before applying the relevant findings of the social sciences and that "race data were not sufficiently employed in dealing with Negroes in the Armed Services" ¹ A few days after this report was announced, the Navy distributed a thesis written by one of its four Negro officers saying that Army-Navy treatment of Negro personnel makes "possible fertile grounds for Communism." ² Both these reports seem especially significant in light of my own experiences and investigations regarding race relations in the Armed Forces

Race Relations in the Armed Forces

My first assignment in the Army was with an M.P. company in Florida. Upon arrival, the company commander, a native of Louisville, addressed us in no uncertain terms in referring to local attitudes toward "niggers 'n' northerners." In subsequent relations, the captain confided he "never held it against anyone that he was a Jew." At Fort Custer, Michigan, in Criminal Investigation School, I became acquainted with the only Negro in our class. He had been put off in a room by himself and few in the class or school knew that he was a successful writer of several best sellers. While at Post Headquarters at Camp Blanding, Florida, I discovered through some records and notations that a set policy of racial and religious quotas for officers' schools had been in practice. At Camp Ritchie, Maryland, I met some Nisei heroes of the 100th Battalion who had been beaten and thrown out of an American Legion Clubroom in Hagerstown, Maryland, because some mem-

¹ Stuart Chase reporting to the Community Service Society conference, Roosevelt Hotel, N.Y., January 29, 1948

² Lt. Dennis D. Nelson, United States Navy, *New York Herald Tribune*, February 1, 1948

bers did not like "Japs." In a restaurant in Columbus, Georgia, I saw a dark-skinned Puerto Rican cadet being asked to leave with a party of other soldiers from Fort Benning. When he protested the next day to the senior officers at the Post, this distinguished attorney from San Juan was dropped from officers' school. Then there is, of course, the shocking story of the Negro G.I.'s who were forced to eat in the kitchen of a railroad depot between trains while they witnessed a spectacle of newly arrived German prisoners of war being served in the main dining room.

These stories are not unique nor do they represent some of the more violent cases of race relations that have occurred in the services. But it was against this background that I decided to investigate the attitudes of other servicemen toward minorities. Having come under the guidance of Dean Payne while an undergraduate at New York University before the war, I was anxious to discover some of the patterns of behavior involved in intercultural relations to which Dean Payne had often referred. I prepared a rough draft of a questionnaire which represented a modification of the Bogardus Social Distance Scale. It was soon discovered that there were any number of restrictions against conducting surveys among servicemen. In addition, many men refused to participate in an unofficial interview especially during their free time. And of course the Army did not give anyone enough free time to allow the conducting of surveys in addition to other duties. But in the course of some four years and such preferential opportunities as traveling assignments, I was able to get a fairly diverse sampling of one hundred and fifty cases.

The men sampled came from thirty-three states and four countries. Forty-five per cent belonged to the various Protestant denominations and thirty-three to the Roman Catholic. Nine per cent were Jewish and seven per cent listed themselves as Greek Catholic. Some six per cent indicated they were agnostics or atheists.

On the questionnaire several minority groups were listed and

the men were asked to indicate whether they would care to talk, eat, work, play, or live with any of these groups, the latter classification naturally measuring the fullest expression of the degree of prejudice. The results were as follows.

<i>Would you live with a.</i>	Per Cent (Negative Response)
Japanese	52
Negro	46
Chinese	26
Mexican	22
Jew	12
Russian	12
German	10
Englishman	6
Italian	6
Finn	4
Frenchman	4
Irishman	2

It was in the word association portion of the questionnaire that the stereotype concepts really became apparent. Listed below are some of the words most commonly associated with the groups in the order of their frequency.

English	Tea, London, snobs, imperialists, Churchill
Japanese	Treachery, rice, short, Pearl Harbor, Hirohito
Catholic	Religion, Pope, churches, priests, narrow-minded
Italian	Spaghetti, dark, food, Mussolini, Rome
Russian	Cossacks, Stalin, vodka, suspicious
Jew	Business, money, chisellers, persecution
Mexican	Chili, dark, lazy, sombrero, songs
German	Intelligence, science, beer, Hitler, clean, warlike
French	Wine, sex, women, Paris, culture
Irish	Humor, green, whiskey, potatoes, pugnacity
Negro	Music, stupidity, South, dancing, Joe Louis
Communist	Red, Russian, radical, Browder

It is interesting to note that the academic background of the group was rather high. The largest group, 34 per cent, were men with college backgrounds whereas only 4 per cent had not finished grade school. Some 24 per cent were high-school graduates and 21 per cent had done university graduate work. There were 16 per cent who had at least finished grade school. Most of the men were under twenty-five years of age. There were 44 per cent between the ages of 21 and 25, 30 per cent between 26 and 30, and 16 per cent were in the 31- to 35-year group. There were 7 per cent younger than 20 and 3 per cent older than 36.

The raw data of the survey, together with some three thousand collected cases of discrimination, have become the basis for further investigation into the implications of intercultural attitudes now that servicemen have become veterans.

Race Relations in the United States

Professor Allport of Harvard, in reporting on the psychology of the bigot, tells us that racial and religious tensions have a way of increasing in wartime and the period immediately following

War and its aftermath multiply and augment our frustrations . . . there are the . . . minor irritations of gas shortages, red tape of rationing, mounting taxes and higher prices. . . Both wage-earners and white collar workers are fearful for the future. Our worries give us the pinioned feeling which makes us want to attack something—something visible, near-lying and outlandish

Minority groups, being visible, near at hand, and a bit outlandish provide the outlet we need. We don't care particularly what we attack them for. If one excuse (The Jews all keep to themselves) is proved invalid, we seize another (They pry into Christian groups). Wanting to release our pent-up rage at something, we complain: the Jews get the new tires; the Negroes are plotting; Catholics are fascists at heart. Thus in one breath we "explain" our vague apprehensions to ourselves and give vent to our wartime jitters. Accusations of this sort are usually so crisp, graphic, tabloid that unless we are critical by nature, believing them requires no effort.³

³ Gordon W. Allport, "Bigot in Our Midst," *Commonweal*, October 6, 1944

In reviewing the record of race relations in the United States during the war years and the period following, one is appalled by the frequency of overt action against members of minority groups. Most of us have become familiar with the race riots of Detroit, Harlem, Philadelphia, and Columbia, Tennessee, to name the scenes of four of the most notorious incidents. The lynching of Willie Earle in Greenville, South Carolina, last year and the subsequent acquittal of the twenty-three men involved, was another blot on the record. "Twenty wounded American soldiers of Japanese extraction being treated at the Army hospital near Auburn, California, were forced to forgo outdoor exercise and all because they dare not venture beyond the hospital due to the ominous attitude of many Placer County residents. In Placer County recently, property owned by the Nisei has been mysteriously set afire." ⁴ In Freeport, Long Island, four Negro brothers, two of them G.I.'s and one a veteran, were shot by a patrolman. Two of them, Charles and Alfonso Ferguson, were killed in cold blood. ⁵ At the University of Iowa last summer, a Jewish graduate student was badly beaten because two men in the school cafeteria did not like Jews. The cases of discrimination in colleges and universities and the notorious quota systems have been receiving the publicity and public attention that has long been overdue. In the field of housing, discriminatory practices had some international repercussions when it was found that the Metropolitan Life Insurance project in New York City (Stuyvesant Town) would not allow colored personnel of the U.N., among others, into the housing project.

The Veteran and Race Relations

A great many servicemen went into the Army with little or no prejudice. However, seeing the hostility demonstrated on every side toward minority groups and having to conform to regulations which in effect required discrimination, many took on the

⁴ *PM*, January 20, 1946

⁵ *New York Herald Tribune*, February 6, 1946

patterns of prejudice. The survey I conducted indicated a high rate of discriminatory attitudes on the part of servicemen. Now the ex-serviceman has returned to an atmosphere of increased racial tensions. The place of minority problems in the burning issues of the day has become especially significant. Political observers inform us that the national elections of 1948 may well be fought along the lines of civil rights. The present revolt of Southern statesmen and politicians against anti-poll-tax and anti-lynching legislation was gathering force at the time of this writing (February 1948).

Why is the impact of racial issues any greater on the veteran than upon other members of the community? In addressing ourselves to this question we recall that it was behind the worn hobnailed boots of the German veterans that Hitler marched to power. Mussolini's blackshirts numbered thousands of veterans. It was the Red Army organized by Trotsky that made Bolshevism possible in Russia. And it has been the army or former army men who have dominated much of the political life of South America. Here in this country we have already witnessed the rise and fall of the Columbians, an organization created essentially to harness veterans into a militant race-hating force. The Klan has re-emerged as a political force with strong veteran support.

Today there are nearly a hundred different veteran organizations trying to organize the powerful political reservoir of fourteen million veterans of the Second World War and the four and a half million of the First World War. Many of these groups are organized primarily along strict racial and religious lines

There are dozens of veterans' organizations on the style of those Corporal Hitler came home to in 1918. The organizer in most cases is a civilian with an axis to grind Gerald L. K. Smith, nonveteran, leader of the America First propaganda campaign before the war, is offering the "Nationalist Veterans of World War II." Smith's front man is the veteran George Vose, who was medically discharged in 1944 just before a court martial.

Smith has another "veteran leader" at the present time, an ex-G.I. named Frederick Kister of Chicago, who has appeared there with Smith and other native Fuehrers at meetings. Kister is the author of circulars of the "Christian Veterans of America"—they are anti-Semitic and their appeal is directed significantly enough at "mustered-out" veterans. No proof of discharge is required in the membership application.

Charles E. Coughlin, the radio demagogue, another nonveteran, has an organization known as the St. Sebastian Brigade. Coughlin circularized soldiers and sailors overseas with his recruiting literature.

There are several other Fuehrer groups trying to enlist veterans. One is the United Veterans' Political Party, run by ex-Congressman John Hoeppel of California. Another is the American Order of Patriots of Houston, Texas, restricted to "gentiles only." The leader and organizer is "Major" Benjamin C. Richards, Jr.⁶

Irving Brant, in a recent editorial, has pointed out that the competition for too few jobs, too little housing, and too little food and clothing often becomes a racial competition. When Lieutenant Nelson, United States Navy, mentions poor race relations as being fertile grounds for communism, he is voicing a very real danger. With economic recession and the growing antagonism of racial issues the opportunity is ripe for the emergence of subversive forces in political control. The feeling of insecurity that grips many of our veterans today is the breeding grounds for tomorrow's violence. Then there is the atmosphere of our times with respect to human rights and emotional maturity.

Many individuals who have emotional disabilities of their own, guilts, fears, inferiorities, are certain to project their hates on others, on groups, communities, or nations, and thus to jeopardize seriously the external relations of those who are associated with them. They are the people who must believe the worst of all foreigners and who then react emotionally and irrationally to these beliefs. They are a very real menace. The government of a country cannot organize and impose any social developments or external relations which are too far ahead of the state.

⁶ James Dugan, "Joining Up," *Salute*, May 1946

of maturity of its citizens. There would otherwise result internal conflict and dissension, producing a reactionary government and a retreat to a less mature stage of social development. We must realize that such a retreat will never again be a matter for merely local concern in the particular country, as it has often been in the past. Any such reaction now becomes a dangerous threat to the whole world.⁷

The Other Side

It would be unfair not to report on some of the more wholesome experiences in the field of race relations. Certainly the picture is not completely black. Perhaps the most dramatic testimonial is the combat experiences of mixed military units. A survey was conducted by fifty trained interviewers, who made a total of 250 interviews with white officers and enlisted men in seven of the divisions that included Negro-white platoons.⁸ Two of the divisions were predominantly Southern in background. The following questions were asked:

	Percentage	
	Officers	Enlisted Men
Q. "How did you feel at first about serving in a company in combat that had white platoons and colored platoons?"		
Relatively favorable ("willing to try it," "made no difference")	33	35
Relatively unfavorable ("skeptical," "didn't like it," "thought it would cause trouble")	64	64
No answer	3	1
Q. "Has your feeling changed since having served in the same unit with colored soldiers?"		

⁷ Major General G. B. Chisholm, "The Psychiatry of Enduring Peace and Social Progress," *Psychiatry*, February 1946.

⁸ "The Utilization of Negro Infantry Platoons in White Companies," Research Branch, Information and Education Division, SHAEP, June 1945.

	<i>Percentage</i>	
	Officers	Enlisted Men
Yes, has become more favorable	77	77
No, my feeling is still the same	16	21
My feeling has become less favorable *	0	0
No answer	7	2
Q "How well have the white and colored soldiers gotten along together?"		
Very well	73	60
Fairly well	7	36
In combat very well, in garrison fairly well	14	4
Not well	0	0
No answer	6	0

* No cases were found in which an individual reported that his attitude had become less favorable

In reviewing minority contributions to the war effort we find some outstanding illustrations. One of the first Americans to shed his blood in the Second World War was a Negro messmate, Dorie Miller, at Pearl Harbor. His courage during that fateful attack earned him the Congressional Medal of Honor. The founder of the blood bank system that made possible the extensive use of blood plasma during the war was the distinguished Negro scientist, Dr. Charles Drew.

We remember that Major General Maurice Rose, son of a Denver rabbi, after spearheading the attack that captured Cologne and drove across the Rhine, was struck down by a Nazi bullet when complete victory was at hand. The first American nurse to be killed in Europe was Lieutenant Frances Y. Slinger, a young Jewish girl from Boston.

The most decorated units of the United States Army were the Nisei 100th Battalion and the 442d Combat Team. The hero of the

Aleutians campaign was a Mexican beet-sugar worker from Colorado named José Martinez. He received the Congressional Medal of Honor along with other Mexican-Americans, Macario Garcia and José Lopez of Texas, Silvestre Heirera of Arizona, and Manuel Perez of Chicago.

The first enlisted man to receive the Medal of Honor in the last war was the son of Italian immigrants, Marine Gunner Sergeant John Basilone of Raritan, New Jersey. Sergeant Basilone later met his death on the first day of the assault on Iwo Jima.

In the Battle of Midway, America's first decisive blow against the Japanese Navy, two American Indians figured prominently. One was Major General Clarence L. Tinker, an Osage, in command of the Hawaiian Air Forces, later missing in action. The other was John C. Waldron, a Sioux, from Fort Pierre, South Dakota, who commanded the famous Navy Air Torpedo Squadron Eight that lashed a smashing blow at the Japanese fleet.

These are some of the stories of members of minority groups who contributed, often the supreme price, so that the promise of the democratic ideal might become the birthright of all Americans and perhaps all people.

To help in establishing this birthright, there are many agencies, national bodies, civic groups, and educational institutions active in the growing field of human relations. One of the last documents of the late President Roosevelt called for the need in our times for the study of the "science of human inter-relationships." Re-echoing this statement, Dr. James B. Conant, President of Harvard, at the annual conference of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Chicago last December, urged the development of the scientific study of human relations. Perhaps as counterinfluences in our age of racial tensions there is a growing movement to study the entire area of group conflicts.

At New York University's School of Education, a Center for

Human Relations Studies has been established. It is one of the first such centers of study and research in the country. Here careful clinical analysis is being made of all factors involved in human interaction. Using the tools of the social sciences, such as projective techniques in obtaining statistical data, it is hoped that the goals achieved in most of the other sciences, prediction and control, may eventually be applied to human relations.

The Bureau for Intercultural Education, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples, the American Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the Federal Churches of Christ Race Relations Council, the Japanese-American Citizens League, the Common Council for American Unity, Friends of Democracy, the National Urban League, the American Council on Race Relations, and the Catholic Interracial Council are a few of the organizations helping to realize the democratic ideal within our generation.

We have seen in recent months many promising signs. The publication of the President's Report on Civil Rights, the development of antidiscrimination legislation in many states, the setting up of mayor's committees on race relations, the introduction of Negro athletes into major league baseball, the use of racial and religious themes in major motion pictures, and the prize-winning public response to them are all candles in the dark.

Yet we have seen in our lifetime the specter of mass genocide. We have witnessed the wanton violations of human rights. The men who know the atomic bomb best tell us we will not have a fourth chance if we take the third! As long as any member of our community is deprived of the right for growth, whether through education, employment, residence, or opportunity, we are in effect threatening world peace. We know progress is being made in this area of human relations. But we cannot indulge ourselves with the

luxury of inaction. The veteran along with other members of the community can be made a positive force to help in this process of social maturity and responsibility or he can be allowed to be victimized into a militant, subversive, and destructive agent.

Through creative and educational mediums it is possible to compete successfully with those insidious influences. By each of us participating in the social action forces in our communities and by making democracy work in the classrooms, the offices, the shops, the subways, the recreation halls, the taverns, the cafeterias, the clubs, and anywhere when the opportunity for good human relationships presents itself, further advances will be possible. To wipe out race hatred and racial discriminations we must unite the races in producing food enough for all, housing for all, clothing for all, education for all, comfort for all, instead of forcing them to compete with one another for less than enough.

"Put a white man and a Negro soldier in the same shell hole, and they will fight together to the last breath, sharing their food and water, if either is wounded the other will risk his life to carry him out. But the shell hole must be large enough for both."

Henry A. Singer, B.S., A.M., member of the Center for Human Relations Studies at New York University. He is completing his Doctorate on the theme of the veteran and race relations.

THE SCHOOL AS AN INTEGRATING AGENCY IN COMMUNITY LIFE

L. H. Garstin

I. The Meaning of Integration

At a recent meeting of the Local Federation of Home and School, the superintendent of education speaking in support of the school as a community center, maintained that it was the only institution extant today that is in a position to integrate the life of the community. He pointed out that the home could not assume this function because there were too many forces pulling at the solidarity of the family unit to make it an effective unifying agency. Nor, he claimed, could the church undertake the task, for not everyone belonged to the same church. The church was plagued with denominationalism which is the antithesis of unity. Nor, again, did he consider the farm, factory, or store an effective integrating agency since vocational life is so diversified that there is no common point of contact among the various crafts and trades in which the adult population is engaged. What integrating forces there were, he concluded, were inadequate and frequently unwholesome. The beer parlor, the pool room, the dance hall, and the cinema are the chief integrating agencies in the modern community and their influence is too often destructive.

What did the superintendent mean when he spoke of integration of community life? Integration, sociologically defined, refers to the process of union and interrelation of the members of a community through a common set of purposes, ideals, beliefs, and activities. It is the process of welding the community into a group of individuals who share common goals and common means of attaining those goals. If it is successful in its application, integration creates a form of *esprit de corps* which permeates the community and gives it a sense of oneness. A truly integrated community is one in which all the citizens take an interest and play

an active part in its manifold cultural, recreational, and civic organizations and institutions. In such a community, the outsider who comes into it will observe a deep loyalty and a profound sense of pride among its members. He will observe, too, that the sense of unity revolves around some institutional expression of the central aims and purposes—perhaps around the town or city council, the church, or simply the community hall. Integration, in short, is a function of ideals and purposes finding realization in some institution that controls and determines the tone of the activities that are the outward manifestation of inward oneness.

II. Integration in Western Culture

Community integration thus defined has had a long and varied history in Western culture. In the Middle Ages, for example, community integration was effectively achieved through the Church Universal and the Christian creed or *Weltanschauung* of which it was the custodian. Setting the aims and purposes of the individual's life as preparation for inhabitation of the City of God when the spirit has fled the mortal body, the church bent all its powers to subordinate each act of worldly existence, the lusts of the flesh and the love of worldly goods, to this end. The individual must become a member of the church, must believe in its creed, must abide by its rituals, and must order economic, political, and social life according to its principles. If, for instance, the individual were engaged in commerce, he must observe the just price, refrain from extortionate profit, guard the quality of his wares, and forego interest and usury in the interests of his neighbor's welfare. If engaged in the arts of war, he must be chivalrous at all times, defending the weak and observing the principles of humanity. If a lord or serf, he must abide by the duties and obligations fitting his station in life, ministering to the mutual needs of the various classes that constituted society. In other words, all men were to play their various parts to the accompaniment of one dominant

theme, the preparation, through good works, for the Life Eternal.

Here indeed was to be found the basis of community integration. The Christian creed provided the aims and purposes of the community's existence. The church provided the institution necessary to the activation of the objectives of the community. The interpretation of economic, political, and social activities in terms of the creed provided the laws of action of the community. The active participation of the church in political, economic, and social life provided the means of seeing to it that the Christian philosophy was practiced in every line of endeavor and that, therefore, the oneness of the community was promoted.

Unfortunately, the undoubtedly noble ideal of a single integrated community built around the church and its Christian principles was shattered by the repressive lengths to which the church went in attempting to subordinate the individual to the common ends and by the political, economic, and social changes of the Reformation, the Renaissance, and the Commercial and Industrial Revolutions. These fostered individualism in opposition to the subordination of the individual in the interests of the whole.

This individualism first showed itself in the religious sector, in the form of denominationalism. And in succeeding centuries the new cult spread rapidly. It invaded the political field with the advent of the "one man, one vote" theory, the coming of ballot suffrage, and the growth of the parliamentary system. It entered the field of economists with the concepts of free trade and *laissez faire*. It influenced the field of aims and purposes through the philosophies of hedonism and utilitarianism.

The development of industrial society determined the direction that individualism would take. Whereas formerly attainment of the Life Hereafter constituted the goal of life, the new mode of existence sought happiness and salvation in the here and now. The instrument of this salvation became the manipulation of the external environment through machine technology to the end of

satisfying physical wants and desires individually defined. To the attainment of material welfare all the acts of worldly existence were subordinated.

The essentials of community integration were present in this new order of individual industrialism. The creed of individual material welfare provided the aims and purposes of the community. The regime of private property provided the institution necessary to the activation of the creed. The doctrines of liberalism and *laissez faire* provided the laws of action of the economic, political, and social system of the community necessary for the attainment of the common goal.

But individual industrialism contains within itself the seeds of its own destruction. The creed of self-interest, no matter how enlightened in theory, and of *laissez faire*, no matter how idealistically viewed, become at a certain point antagonistic to integration. Their essence is atomistic and pluralistic. Since the cardinal fact of a community founded on individual industrialism is the uninhibited pursuit of personal desires, individual differences arising from environmental and hereditary sources become more accentuated than in a community that emphasizes the subordination of the individual as a means of achieving the common purpose. The consequence has been that individuals have become so intent in following the devices and desires of their own hearts that they have scattered off in a hundred directions without thought of the welfare of their neighbors, with the result that they have been operating, more often than not, at cross-purposes instead of in unison toward a common end.

R. M. MacIver summed up the problem of integration in our individualistic culture with extreme clarity when he stated:

In the new upthrust of individualism and rationalism there was a dislodgment of old abuses and exploitations of authority. . . . At the same time the need for a new basis of authority was evident enough. The fragmentation ethics of group interests could not bind society

together. The detachment of individuals and of groups in the competitive struggle and the preoccupation with the means of material success weakened the sense of the larger and more universal relationships between men. . . . The people must always seek some unity, some whole to which they may belong.¹

III. The School and Integration

The problem of those who would make the school the focus of community integration is clear. Can the school provide a complex of aims and purposes, a philosophy of means and ends, a *Weltanschauung* that will bind the modern community together? If it can provide such a philosophy can it win the community to its acceptance? Finally, if the community is willing to accept the philosophy, can the school control and organize the various activities of the community so that unity in activity toward a common goal is effectively achieved?

In light of the popular concept of the role of the school in society, the school could undertake the task only with a good deal of missionary effort. The community looks on the school as an instrument for the transmission to the younger generation of the former's already existent body of nonmaterial culture. It sees the school as handing on society's store of knowledge, as inculcating aims, purposes, and values as they are. At this point the school must call a halt. It is not within its province to set forth new standards, to criticize held values, to lead beyond what is to what might be, to resolve aims and purposes at new and perhaps higher levels.

There are other obstacles. The limited influence of the school must be taken into consideration. In the first place, it deals largely with the juvenile population and not all the juvenile population at that. A progressively decreasing number of juveniles come under its care as the adolescent age groups are reached. Added to

¹ R. M. MacIver, *The Web of Government* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1946), pp. 55-56.

this is the fact that they are under its care for less than one fifth of each day for less than ten years of their lives. It exerts no influence during the first six years of life and loses the child again anywhere from his sixteenth to his eighteenth year. Family environment, neighborhood gang, cinema, ball park, pool hall, factory, and store—these are the institutions that in reality give the individual his *Weltanschauung* and provide the aims and purposes of the community.

Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that the school could do far more to promote community integration than it is doing now. The problem is for the school to bring the manifold institutions and agencies proliferated throughout contemporary society under its influence and direction and to provide them with a common goal. This, however, could be done readily. There is no reason, for example, why the cinema should not be largely under its sponsorship. Perhaps a theater could be made a part of the school plant to be used to show the best of films produced in Europe and America. Communities usually raise no objection to an auditorium and projection machine being added to school equipment. If the auditorium is built according to standard theater plans and the projection machine is of the standard millimeter type, the foundation is laid for making use of the products of the film industries. As such a school theater established its prestige it would be considered, no doubt, as the logical focus of film distribution.

Again, the school might foster community integration through the mediums of press and radio. For the press, the obvious point of departure, apart from a more comprehensive reporting of school affairs in the existing local press, would be the journalistic activities at present conducted in the schools as part of their regular instruction program. It is conceivable that "home editions" of the school newspaper could be published. These editions, in addition to printing student news, might very well carry news of all the various activities carried on by the school. The doings of the school

theater, forum groups, discussion clubs, fine arts clubs, and vocational training classes would hold considerable reader interest. Motion-picture reviews, book reviews, articles, and editorials on school and community problems and policies would also find a place. Indeed, as the school became more and more the focus of community activities, the school press would become more and more the focus for the distribution of the news of the community.

A similar plan of promoting community integration might be achieved through the radio. A start could be made with student broadcasts and faculty talks. Musical programs, plays, discussions, and forums conducted by students would tend to create very favorable public relations. Faculty lectures, discussions, and round-table talks would certainly have an abiding influence in integrating school and community.

The vocational life of the community could also be linked with the school, though perhaps not to the same extent. Liaison between school and industry in the matter of vocational training is one very practical means of drawing the community under the influence of the school. The encouragement of discussion forums in which problems of economic, political, and social life were analyzed would provide another important means of inculcating the complex of aims and purposes which the school stood for. Here again industry and school would be linked since the problems discussed would almost certainly include those concerned with vocational life. Through sponsoring such discussions the school could have a great influence in directing the form and organization of economic and political life.

In similar manner the school might gain control of other activities now scattered among a myriad of organizations operating without a common goal. It could take an aggressive part in directing recreational activities such as sports, by supporting sports clubs and imbuing them with a sense of loyalty to the school as their sponsor and promoter. It could also organize activities such as

handicrafts, drama, writing, art, and music as substitutes for the somewhat debilitating pursuits of beer parlor and pool room. Again, it could take an aggressive role in organizing social activities such as dances and card parties.

Such plans, of course, assume that the school can become the leader in giving the community institutions that it controls, and hence the community itself, some integrated philosophy of aims and purposes, and can muster the strength and respect necessary to put the philosophy into practice in the community. The gradual expansion of direction and control envisaged in the preceding pages would of itself tend to promote the acceptance of the school playing a more influential role in society. But determination of the aims and purposes themselves and of the means of carrying them out would rest largely with those who would act as the custodians of the school on behalf of the community—the teachers and administrators. Consequently, it is imperative that the latter be imbued with belief in some complex of means and ends acceptable to society and be bold enough to propagate and defend these through the school. It is doubtful if existing school personnel are equipped for the task at present. A reorientation of teacher selection and training is therefore indicated

NEW HORIZONS IN TEACHER-COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

Louis Kaplan

Within recent years a relatively new concept has been introduced in the educational profession. After many centuries of autocratic suppression, teachers became articulate; they began to demand a voice in the administration of their schools and in the formulation of policies which governed the operation of the schools. Some administrators whose social vision exceeded the confines of tradition supported the teachers in this movement for broadening the base of participation in school affairs. From these dual sources has arisen the new and promising concept of democratic school administration.

Democracy in the Profession Is Not Enough

While democracy within the profession is a wholesome thing that can bring nothing but good to the education of America's children, there is much evidence that neither teachers nor administrators have fully comprehended the scope of the new movement which they have started. Some of this evidence is revealed by the outbreaks of teacher strikes which have occurred during recent years. Some of it has been shown in the polls by communities which have refused to tax themselves for better schools, or refused to give up their small, inefficient schools and consolidate with neighboring communities for the mutual benefit of all. Such factors indicate that education in America cannot reach its full stature through intraprofessional advancements only. Education is but one of the many institutions of society, and if the schools are to meet the challenge of the world's need for a more enlightened citizenry, then educators must leave the safety of their classrooms and offices and venture out into the community, into the strife and conflict of the marketplace where the nation's destiny is being cast and fashioned.

The Need for Improved Teacher-Community Relations

It is very true, of course, that not all educators have isolated themselves from the social settings of their schools. There have always been some types of ill-defined and little understood extra-school activities classified under the title of "public relations." School administrators have carried out sporadic attempts to inform the public of what the schools are trying to do, or to enlist the support of the taxpayers in raising funds for a new building. Teachers have also made some feeble attempts to interest the parents in the education of their children, or to interpret to the children the forces of the community.

However, these efforts on the part of educators have been notably ineffectual from a broad and enduring point of view. The cultural lag in our society continues; the American people continue to spend more money for tobacco, motion pictures, and liquor than they do for education, millions of children are denied the privilege of an education in this the wealthiest of all nations, and millions of others receive only a poor skeleton of an education in the few years they spend in school. While educators have succeeded in accomplishing much during the last hundred years, and while we have managed to build a great system of public education, we have not done enough. Our schools do not match our wealth, our power, or our potentialities as the leading nation in the world.

Much of this hiatus between what the schools of America are, and what they might be, may be laid on the doorstep of the profession. Educators, and especially teachers, who comprise the bulk of the professional personnel, have failed to comprehend the full significance of their roles in society. There is, in fact, much disagreement among educators as to what the function of the teacher is in the wider schoolroom of American life. In this day, when the citizens of the world are proving themselves ineffectual in creating a unity of heart among the nations, more and more men of

vision are turning to education as the sole hope and the only ultimate path toward enduring world peace. If this be truly the function of education, then we must once again examine the obligation of teachers to society, and particularly to that microcosm of society in which education is functioning, the local community. We must turn to some fundamental social and philosophical interpretations of the social role of an educator and seek to derive from such a search some imperatives which may guide the teacher in fashioning a place for himself in the stream of social development.

It is hoped that this article may stimulate such a search and encourage others, who will probe ever more deeply into this roughly charted frontier—the teacher's function in the community of a democratic nation.

Should Teachers Follow Social Movements or Lead Them?

There is general agreement among those who have studied the problem that teachers, as transmitters and sifters of our cultural heritage, as molders of tomorrow's citizens, have a serious obligation to the communities in which they function. But, when we examine and attempt to define the nature of the teacher's obligations, two diametrically opposed points of view appear.

On the one hand, there are those who think that a teacher's duty is solely to teach, that his function is that of perpetuating the institutions and social patterns that exist today. This concept holds that the proper sphere of activity of the teacher is his classroom and the proper subjects of instruction are those aspects of the cultural heritage which have been proved and standardized; those elements of our culture that have been stamped with the sanction of tradition.

Under such a point of view, the teacher would have to adjust himself to the social conceptions that had been settled upon by his community and would serve the community by feeding the students only the established and approved academic diets, thereby

preserving the *status quo* by adapting the minds of youth to what society has deemed to be good and enduring

This is, however, only one point of view. It is the traditional conception that the teacher may best serve the community by preserving intact in each generation those values and behavior patterns held by the previous generations.

There is another and more daring group of thinkers who deplore this static conception of the teacher's function. They claim that the social influence of teachers has been tested in the caldrons of the recent war. They point out that through the medium of education whole nations were welded into a unified mood and spirit. In the cases of Germany, Japan, and Italy, the role of the teachers was directed toward evil ends. But, whether for good or evil, it has been proved that teachers and the schools can form social policies and can alter the course of a nation.

This group of social theorists would, then, demand that teachers break with the bonds of the past, that they pick up the reins of their power and exert their influence by building in each community a strong and vital cell of a functional democracy. Together, these cells would achieve those values and those humanitarian goals which a democratic form of government strives to foster.

Teachers Must Define Their Function in Society

These antithetical points of view pose some very real imperatives for teachers. If we as teachers choose to continue in our traditional role, functioning as servile pedagogues who do no more than transmit the prescribed forms of the past, submerged in the common thinking of the community, then education is fostering social stagnation. Changes will continue to occur in the world, but they will occur despite these who, by refusing to question the traditional conceptions and anachronisms of their communities, absorb themselves in the thoughts and activities of their local groups,

thereby remaining secure in their positions as they drift along on the serene waters of conformity.

These educators who seek to effect no changes, who wish to do nothing more socially significant than to fill out their records neatly, to follow the prescribed course of study, and otherwise lead a safe and respectable life, will undoubtedly antagonize no one. If this is truly the social function of a teacher in the schools of a democracy, then there need be no question of teacher-community relationships. All will remain secure and happy in their isolation from reality. All, that is, except those who truly appreciate the social significance of teaching.

Teachers Have a Moral Compulsion to Lead Social Progress

Teaching has a social function which transcends the institution of organized education. Teachers are often the only persons in the community who have attained a level of social development beyond that of the citizens and whose main purpose in life is economic gain. As educators, those who prepare the young to fulfill the functions of oncoming social offices, teachers are, by virtue of their preparation and obligations to the future generations of America, morally compelled to reach beyond the classroom and take a hand in the other community agencies which are also educative. These agencies differ from the schools in that they deal with the here and now, not the future, they are concerned with material and immediate problems of life, not with the values and ideals that will be of significance to the peace, the social efficiency, or the moral sensitivities of the world of tomorrow.

If teachers realized that social progress demands that they seek to direct all forces in their communities toward the goals and purposes of our schools, and if this realization could be deeply instilled in the fiber of a million American teachers, and then translated into action, a new realm of teacher-community relationships would evolve. And it can be done. By breaking the bonds of the

past and facing resolutely the demands of our democracy, and by redefining and re-establishing their own participation in our system of government, teachers can raise themselves and their communities to a new stature

It requires, first, that teachers realize their educational purposes and activities to be a form of social policy, a program of social action based upon some accepted scale of values. They must further realize that this social policy may, by lack of direction, obstruct cultural evolution and harness our schools to the dark cells of the past, or that educators can, by recognizing the unique functions which their social role thrusts upon them, be instrumental in raising the quality of our communal life to new and undreamed-of heights

This is a real challenge to teachers. Never before has the world so sorely needed citizens who are world-minded, who would and could place before private or national interests the interests of humanity. Indeed, with the terrible instruments of destruction that now hover over our heads, it is almost imperative that teachers cease to follow those patterns which have produced narrow-minded, self-seeking individuals and take the initiative in broadening the thinking of our communities so that the view of one world and one people may pervade the minds of this generation and the generations now going through our public schools.

Teachers Can Stimulate Social Progress

Now, if teachers are to guide the stream of social progress rather than follow in its wake, what shall be the nature of their participation in community affairs if they are to realize these new objectives? We must start by facing certain realities

Communities have generally set the pattern for teacher participation in the affairs of their citizens. Standards of conduct for teachers have been established, and these standards have tended to hedge in the activities of teachers in such a manner as to force the

teacher to conform to what the community felt to be proper conduct for one who is in contact with its children. Free expression of opinion, freedom in selection of extraschool activities, freedom in matters of recreation, dress, and personal choice of social interests, all of these have been severely circumscribed by the community. Teachers must break these bonds and lead rather than be led by those whom they serve.

However, such a major reversal of social participation cannot be effected immediately. Social changes have always been a matter of gradual progression, and teachers will have to proceed cautiously, but with determination, and with faith in their cause. An analysis of what has been done and written concerning the participation of teachers in the life of their communities indicates something of the manner in which teachers may undertake a program of gradually expanding leadership in community affairs. This program divides itself into three phases

I.

A Program for Teacher Leadership in Community Affairs

At the outset, the teacher who would become a community leader must first become a participant in community affairs. He must associate himself with civic organizations, become familiar with the home life of the children, acquaint himself with the conventions of the community, and otherwise order his activities so that he may become thoroughly familiar with the problems, the outlook, and the attitudes of his local group.

Once this familiarity has been achieved, the teacher is ready to take another step forward in his social activities, that of bringing the laymen into active participation in school affairs. This is a very critical area of responsibility and one that is much in need of consideration by all teachers. Recent newspaper editorials, speakers before lay groups, and numerous other mirrors of the public mind have expressed concern for the need of more effective training in the basic skills, "for good army discipline," in the schools, and

for changes which dig too deeply into our own educational structure to be ignored

Such criticism may be misdirected, or misinformed, or even malicious, but they must, nevertheless, be considered as a reminder that teachers must educate not only children, but the public, as well. Ultimate control of American education rests with the people, and only as the people are made aware of the purposes and functions of the school will the teacher be enabled to combat the indifference or antagonism of the community forces that retard educational progress or frustrate the achievement of desired educational purposes

In the final analysis, educators must look to the public to supply funds for conducting the work of the schools and for the selection of boards of education and other agencies that give official sanction to educational objectives and policies.

Unfortunately, educators have often taken a very superficial and utilitarian approach to the problem of securing community support for the school. They have turned to the public only in times of crisis, or when budgets were being prepared, or when enemies were attacking the school. A much wider social intelligence concerning the place of education in American democracy is needed, and it is the teacher's responsibility to realize this function and to encourage the laity to consider such educational problems as the basic social philosophy of the school, the objectives, and the general welfare functions of education. Such considerations are responsibilities that a democratic government demands of its citizens. Teachers must strive to make this responsibility felt in their communities. Publicity campaigns, parent-teacher associations, and study groups are not enough. Teachers should stress the value of the school to society in general, and the approach to the public should be universal, comprehensive, and intelligent.

The public must not only be given an account of its schools, but must be progressively included in the inner workings of the

school, and ultimately taken into partnership. A true realization of the teacher's function must include sharing with the public in the management and operation of the schools.

Yet, all this is still not enough. The teacher must know his community and must bring the members of the community into participation in school affairs. But there is yet one more mandate given to the teacher by his role in this society. He must lead the thoughts and behavior of the members of the community on to higher and broader levels. *It is the function of a teacher to hold his head higher than the others around him and to look farther into the future.*

Educators must recognize the fact that the school is only one of the educational agencies of the community. If the life surrounding the school is maleducative in its effects, then the isolated and sterilized learning that takes place in the school will be largely forgotten as children go into the maelstrom of life and reality which is their fundamental environment. Teachers must, therefore, extend their influences into the community proper and do so openly and deliberately. They must search out those forces that oppose the proper functioning of the schools and strive to make all of the community a truly educative environment for children and adults alike.

This is the greatest role a teacher can play in the community and it is also the most daring one. It means that teachers must brave those militant forces that place economic interests above the social welfare. This means political activity on the part of teachers. It means active participation on the side of those who are traveling the road that education is seeking to pave. It means a struggle against forces of oppression, against the deadly dullness that assails so many of America's communities and against those who cannot see that, unless we develop a world-mindedness and a brotherhood of man, nothing less than catastrophe awaits us.

II.

The Social Role of a Teacher Is Beset with Difficulties

In openly urging the teacher to take an active hand in directing the affairs of the community, it is expressly recognized that this is an invitation to a great new social reorientation for education. It will precipitate strife and conflict in the communities all over the nation. But strife and conflict are signs of social progress; these forces are, in fact, the seeds of democracy. Those men who had the courage to stand up against forces of regression gave birth to the ideas of democracy, and to our own democratic organization. In this time of world crisis, educators who truly understand their functions in society should do no less. We must become partisans and join forces with those in our communities who have the vision and foresight of basic Americanism.

It is quite useless to talk about innocuous teacher-community relationships where no one is antagonized or alienated. If teachers are to take the lead in promoting issues that education must foster, then they must understand that a community is not a unified political organization, nor even a definite geographic area. It is, rather, a group of people with a common purpose—a living, growing thing. There may be many such entities within one local area, many with diverse purposes—hostile and perhaps with antagonistic purposes. The teacher cannot deal with a community of a single thought, because no such thing exists. Therefore, the teacher must be a partisan. He must align himself with a group because a community is an aggregate of groups, and he must give direction to the growth of this group.

This is the highest type of relationship a teacher can maintain in his community. In doing so, he performs his function on a level of educational statesmanship. And it is an obligation that he cannot escape, for the teacher is the ultimate unit upon which an effective program of education is built. Only as his vision is expanded and freed can he put into practice the type of education that is needed for preserving the values of democracy. It is the

teacher's obligation to take the lead in the co-operative efforts of school and community so that the spirit of democracy may be fostered in the school and its environs

III.

Can It Be Done?

This is not a merely visionary program. There is abundant evidence that its principles and practices are even now being applied and tested in enlightened schools and communities. There are, of course, many difficulties that beset the undertaking described above. The wise teacher should consider them well before attempting a radically progressive change in the creaking organization that now passes for teacher-community relationships. But obstacles are not new to educators, nor cause for despair. They are the challenges of life, created by human minds and soluble through human efforts.

By first putting our own house in order and organizing a model of democracy within the schools, we can slowly foster the true spirit of democracy in society. The process may be slow, long, and arduous. It will call for courage, foresight, and much faith, but the slow, hard way is the only way in a democracy. It is the lasting way. If we are resolute in our purposes and determined in our efforts, we should look to the future with the vision of Francis Bacon when he wrote:

Everything is possible to man. Time is young, give us some little centuries and we shall control and remake all things. We shall perhaps at last learn the noblest lesson of all, that Man must not fight Man, but must make war only on the obstacles that nature offers to the triumph of Man.

Louis Kaplan is professor and head of the Department of Education and Psychology at Oregon College of Education.

BOOK REVIEWS

Why Pupils Fail in Reading, by HELEN M. ROBINSON Chicago:
The University of Chicago Press, 1946, xiii + 257 pages

Helen M. Robinson in her book, *Why Pupils Fail in Reading*, has made a notable contribution to the annals of reading research carried on in this country for the past sixty or seventy years. Prior to Miss Robinson's book, almost all books about reading were written by some specialist in one field or another who confined his research to discovering causes for poor reading in his own particular field and was either unaware or indifferent to the possibilities of causal factors in fields other than his own. Miss Robinson has directed and reported a study in which a group of specialists pooled their efforts and their findings and then observed controlled techniques for correcting the disabilities, altering, if necessary, the original diagnoses if remedial techniques failed to produce the expected results.

The study begins with a survey of the literature in the field of causes for reading disabilities. Miss Robinson reviews and summarizes the findings of research concerning such causal factors as the following: visual maladjustments, neurological bases, auditory and speech difficulties, physical deficiencies, intelligence, emotional and personal problems, environmental and social characteristics of poor readers. This brief review and summarization of the pertinent literature about the causes of reading disabilities is in itself a valuable contribution, revealing on the part of the author a thoroughgoing investigation and offering to the beginning student in his study of causes of reading disabilities a comprehensive view of the entire field.

In the experiment which Miss Robinson reports a group containing a reading specialist, a psychiatrist, a pediatrician, two social workers, three ophthalmologists, a neurologist, an otolaryngologist, an endocrinologist, a speech specialist, and the investigator combined forces to study intensively the causes of the reading disabilities of thirty pupils, five girls and twenty-five boys. The subjects ranged in age from six years, nine months, to fifteen years, three months, and had I Q's according to the New Stanford-Binet test of 85 or above, thus eliminating severe mental retardation as a possible cause for reading disability. The amount of retardation in reading varied from nine months to seventy-five months.

After appropriate psychometric tests and thorough examinations by each specialist of each child, trained social workers visited each home

represented to discover possible social and environmental causes, particularly of emotional and personality disturbances. After conferences in which all the findings were pooled, remedial techniques were suggested and carried out under observation, and re-evaluations were made in the light of the success or failure of these techniques. Twenty-two detailed case studies of the thirty children investigated are given by Miss Robinson.

The results of the study are summarized under major conclusions and then broken down and presented under the various areas investigated. Briefly the major conclusions of Miss Robinson are as follows. First, frequently no one single cause for retardation can be identified, and the greater the retardation, the greater the number of operating causes. Second, when all the evidence was evaluated by the group, some anomalies that, considered in isolation, might seem to be an operating cause were found to have no direct relationship to reading deficiency. Third, a number of causes that seemingly were responsible for reading deficiency were proved by the remedial techniques used not to be operating causes. Fourth, from the evidence secured from this study, the anomalies operating most frequently as causes for reading deficiency were social, visual, and emotional difficulties; appearing less frequently were inappropriate school methods, neurological difficulties, speech and auditory difficulties, least important were endocrine disturbances, general physical difficulties, and insufficient auditory acuity. The fact that emotional disturbances resulting frequently from maladjustment due to social factors (home conditions) topped the list seems particularly significant. Attempts to alter home conditions to bring about better adjustment for the pupils concerned were often fruitless. In the words of Miss Robinson:

In some cases particularly, the group felt that part of the treatment should be directed toward the parents. Such cases presented special difficulty, because maladjusted parents could seldom recognize the vital relationship between their attitudes and problems and those of their children.

The careful experimentation upon which the book is based and the resulting presentation of the procedures, results, and case histories in concise, clear prose seem to me to make the book one of the most valuable and helpful books that have up to the present been concerned with failures in that most important of all school subjects, reading.

FRANCES G. LEDBETTER

Reorganizing the High-School Curriculum, by HAROLD ALBERTY.

New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947, 458 pages.

The appearance of this volume, which aims to clarify the purposes of the secondary school and to provide the necessary activities for achieving them, is a welcome addition to the texts in the field. After introducing the problem by a concise discussion of the present muddled status of the secondary school, Alberty proceeds to an analysis of curriculum construction. The entire question is related to the needs of adolescents and the requirements of a democratic society. Several excellent chapters are devoted to the development of resource units.

This new volume should prove valuable for administrators, teachers, and those in training.

JULES KOLODNY

Personal Adjustment, by KNIGHT DUNLAP. New York: McGraw-

Hill Book Company, Inc., 1946.

To one initiated in elementary psychology this book presents a very good review of the fundamental terms and concepts of psychology. The text provides an interpretation for the student in the practical application of psychology in daily living. It deals with such subjects as learning, studying, features of mental disorders, neurotic maladjustment, the means of readjustment, marriage and marital maladjustment and readjustments, the care and training of children, and various minor maladjustments.

Treatment is made of adjustments and maladjustments from a negative point of view on the theory it is easier to point out the pitfalls of such things than it is to describe the conditions that might lead to a satisfactory, well-adjusted life. The chapter on studying is of particular interest and should be valuable to students in college.

The outspoken views of the author on sex and marital adjustments provide common-sense views for the student to ponder as he enters this particular phase of his life. If difficulties arise, it should be understood that there may be a pattern of causes and maladjustments and not just one cause.

In the chapter entitled "Choosing a Mate" the author, like many others, offers a number of questions which each individual should ask himself, and, in a humorous vein, suggests that his are better than others. However, it would seem that the book in which such guidance

might be obtained is never available or never sought after at such times and is usually only referred to in cases where there is doubt in the individual's mind regarding the correctness of his selection.

The author points out that the use of psychotherapy and psychoanalysis as complete treatments for neurotic, maladjusted people are dangerous when they are not considered in the light of physical factors such as disease conditions, diet, etc. In his experience he found that there are no actual statistics to show the results of the cures in these two manners but that frequently patients, in order to achieve some success in the treatment offered, must believe implicitly in the theory of the practitioner. In recent years there has been a very pronounced tendency to describe the results from psychoanalysis as satisfactory and worth while. The author points out that the techniques used are not scientific and the alleged cures have not been proved by any proper follow-up. One particular danger that is pointed out is that if a patient under treatment by psychoanalytic practice is required to re-examine himself with the attention focused on introspection, the tendency is to develop a trait of introspection where it did not exist previously. The author complains that most psychoanalysts have a tendency not to use their medical training and skill but to rely primarily on theory alone.

In dealing with various minor maladjustments in which every normal person may be involved, some very helpful suggestions are made to overcome them.

One minor matter, considering the fact that the author has had so many years of practical experience, is his statement that he has never known anyone to drink enough beer to become drunk, a statement which shows that he certainly must not have traveled in such circles as to observe the common man.

Mention is made of IQ tests for intelligence and how these tests have only a statistical validity but are not an indication of the ability to predict how a certain individual child will fare in school. This is due to many unknown factors which affect the individual. The author points out that many successful businessmen, when tested on the IQ basis, would be classified as morons, whereas there is no relation, as the IQ intelligence has little to do with business intelligence.

The author, as he proceeds in his discussion of the topics selected, becomes more interesting as he puts forth his personal experiences with maladjusted persons over a period of over forty years.

CHARLES E. SKINNER

Soviet Education. Its Psychology and Philosophy, by MAURICE J. SHORE. New York: The Philosophical Library, 1947, xxii + 346 pages.

It is essential in the interests of world peace that nations understand each other. This may appear a truism but a cursory glance at the daily press will make it obvious even to the most apathetic person that in America we are not operating on this principle as we should. Most specifically, it is necessary for us to understand the peoples of the countries of the Soviet Union and their complex culture. It is the duty of these peoples furthermore to appreciate American institutions and culture. *Soviet Education* is a revealing book and it is one that should help us in our approach to problems of a very disturbed world. Dr. Shore has traced the development of Marxian education, and present manifestation in Soviet education, for more than a century—from the theoretical Marxism of 1844 to the present Stalinist program of 1947. An examination of the educational tenets of Marxism forms a basis for this study. The interdependence of Soviet education upon economics and, thus, politics is pointed out. The style employed by the author leaves much to be desired and the failure of proofreaders to function render the volume deficient in these simple standards of book making.

WILLIAM P. SEARS

Handbook of Child Guidance, edited by ERNEST HARMES. New York: Child Care Publications, 1947, 751 pages.

This volume is a compilation of many valuable discussions which are of value to teachers, psychologists, and parents. The book is divided into parts and in each part there are a number of chapters. The parts are Development of Child Guidance in the United States, Guidance of the Normal Child, the Physically Handicapped, Problems of the Sub-normal Child, Training in Child Guidance, Social Aspects of Child Guidance, Religious Aspects of Guidance, and Special Viewpoints for Guidance. This splendid volume should be in the hands of every student of psychology and guidance who is devoted to a better understanding and directing of children.

CHARLES E. SKINNER

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THE PUBLIC SCHOOL: THE COMMON DENOMINATOR

C. Frederick Pertsch

The principle of equality of educational opportunity has long been a controlling element in the development of the public schools of this country. In 1635, not long after its settlement, attempts were made in New Amsterdam to organize public, tax-supported elementary schools. These efforts antedated the passage of the first general school law in Massachusetts in 1647. Prior to its occupation by the British, there is reason to believe that several tax-supported grade schools were in operation in New Amsterdam. Thereafter and throughout the period of British rule, educational developments were primarily concerned with the creation of endowed Latin grammar schools, institutions that were aristocratic in character in that they served the few rather than the many.

The successful termination of the Revolutionary War did not result in any immediate legislation to establish a system of free, tax-supported grade schools throughout the commonwealth of New York. While it is true that an organization known as the Regents of the University of the State of New York was legislated into being in 1784, it must be noted that the Regents were

authorized merely to charter and control institutions of the secondary level and above. Effective legislation mandating state funds in order to bring the advantages of a state-wide system of common schools within the reach of every child was finally enacted in the Law of 1812. Provision was also made by the legislature in 1812 for the position of State Superintendent of Common Schools. Thereafter, public attention was increasingly centered upon the issue of guaranteeing and supporting a state-wide system of free common schools for all the children. The Laws of 1851, 1867, 1902, 1909, 1925, 1927, and 1945 are milestones in the continuing drive to this end. What is more, the vexing jurisdictional disputes between the Regents and the authorities responsible for the state-wide supervision of the common schools were resolved by the passage of the Unification Act of 1904. This act merged the Regents and the Department of Education into a single Education Department under the Board of Regents of which the Commissioner of Education was the executive officer.

If the public school is truly to serve as the common denominator of the educational program, it must provide equality of educational opportunity for all whom it is designated to serve regardless of differences in place of residence, economic status, race, color, or creed. This is the goal toward which public-school systems and their programs must steadily move. It is generally conceded that progress in this direction is expedited when the public-school system is adequately financed by public funds, supported by widespread public interest, and staffed by competent personnel.

A state-aid program tends to equalize the educational opportunities offered by the school districts of the state. By and large, it tends to assure a minimum acceptable program in these school districts. Some differences remain in the scope and character of the educational programs offered, yet, in general, a degree of equity is achieved. From the national viewpoint, however, there

are vast differences in the ability of the states to support an adequate program. Norton and Lawlor reveal the fact that the best financed school systems in the nation were spending \$6,000 per classroom unit in 1940 as against expenditures of \$100 or less in the poorest systems. As long as such startling discrepancies in expenditure exist, the public schools of the nation cannot hope to be the common denominator of an acceptable educational program.

Despite these handicaps, the public schools of the nation are seeking to extend their services by (a) meeting the needs of all the children within the recognized age ranges and (b) by expanding the age range of the groups to be served. One development, lateral in character, is concerned with meeting the needs of all the children and youth of elementary- and high-school age. The other development, vertical in character, is primarily interested in integrating the nursery school, junior college, and adult education into the public-school program.

Let us address our attention to the first, the lateral, type of expansion. Nation-wide statistics for the school year 1939-1940 reveal the fact that there were almost two million children, six to fifteen years of age, who were not attending a school of any kind. Generally speaking, the poorer and more backward communities make little, if any, provision for educating the child of kindergarten age, the physically handicapped child, the mentally subnormal child and the child who presents problems of behavior. In this connection, the 1948 *Yearbook of the American Association of School Administrators* estimates that less than 10 per cent of the number of children in these groups, the country over, are serviced by some type of specialized program in the public schools.

In general, the larger metropolitan cities have led the way in developing specialized programs for exceptional children. New York City, for example, operates a program of special classes and special schools on a city-wide basis. Classes for the hospitalized,

the partially sighted, the deaf, the hard of hearing, the crippled, the cardiac, the children of low vitality, the mentally subnormal, and the predelinquent are currently in operation. Provision is also made for the individual instruction of children who are home-bound. The most recent venture in the many-sided effort to meet the needs of all the children in New York City is the organization of the so-called "600" schools, the purpose of which is the rehabilitation and education of boys presenting difficult problems of maladjustment and behavior. What the New York City school system is doing in specialized education is being duplicated to a degree in the larger cities of the country. There is an urgent need to extend the advantages of specialized education to all communities, rural, village, town, and city, in the effort to realize equality of educational opportunity for all the children

Before the turn of the century, the high school was essentially a preparatory school for admission to college. Its curriculum centered about the teaching of Latin and Greek, mathematics, the sciences, and the humanities. It was designed to appeal to the select few rather than the many. This is no longer true. In the fifty-year period between 1890 and 1940, registration in the public high schools of the United States rose from 200,000 to 6,600,000, a thirtyfold increase.

These statistics indicate that the high schools have become part of our system of common schools. They represent, for the vast majority of American youth, their final experience with formal schooling. Within the past half century, the high schools have increasingly become terminal institutions for the many rather than preparatory institutions for the few. In conformity with this trend, the primary function of the high schools must be that of meeting the needs of all American youth.

That this function is not fully realized is clearly indicated by the fact that at least 50 per cent of the students who enter high school fail to graduate. One of the major causes for dropping out

is the inability of the family to maintain the student at school. Expenditures for carfare, lunch, general-organization membership, club activities are estimated to average from \$50 to \$100 during the high-school year. In normal times, it is not too difficult for high-school youth to meet these expenditures through part-time work. However, during periods of economic recession or depression, part-time opportunities dry up. It is recommended that funds be made available to the school authorities to enable needy high-school students to earn enough in school to enable them to continue to attend.

Of even greater importance in retaining high-school youth in school is the effort to broaden and enrich the curriculum. Commercial courses, technical courses, courses in the creative and applied arts, courses in the semiskilled and skilled trades should be included as an integral part of the over-all program. There is little likelihood that the high schools will succeed in retaining youth in the schools unless they offer a program that meets their needs and their interests.

Elementary schools and high schools, alike, must key their programs to certain basic objectives. The first objective is that of self-realization. Each child or youth must be helped to realize his potentialities with respect to character, physical health, mental and emotional well-being. The development of competence in human relationships is a second objective. Ours is a co-operative society, the success and advancement of which are largely determined by the ability of each person to work effectively with others, regardless of differences in race, color, creed, or economic condition. The development of economic efficiency and insight is a third major objective of education. The attainment of high-level skills in producing, using, and purchasing is essential if our country is to continue to maintain a position of leadership in the solution of domestic and international affairs. The final objective of public education is the development of civic responsibility to the com-

munity, state, and nation—the essential ingredient of responsible freedom.

Any doubts about the ability of public education to sell itself and its values to those whom it is designed to serve may be readily resolved by a review of its increase in holding power over the past fifty years. At the turn of the century, four years of formal schooling was the average period of education for the American adult. By the First World War, the average number of years of schooling had advanced to six years. According to the 1940 census figures, eight years of schooling was the average educational background. More recent figures for the metropolitan centers reveal ten years of schooling as the average achievement of American youth. There is every reason to believe that, if the current trend continues, an average of twelve years of schooling, the equivalent of high-school graduation, will be achieved by 1980 or earlier, on a nation-wide basis.

The second type of expansion in public education, the vertical expansion, is concerned with the extension of the work of the public schools upward into the junior-college grades and downward into the so-called preschool years. The extension upward is also accompanied by an expansion of services in the field of adult education.

The addition of the junior-college grades, XIII and XIV, to the public-school setup will permit the postponement of specialized instruction until the beginning of grade XI. Common practice at the present time is to launch the program of specialized instruction, academic, commercial, technical, vocational, at the beginning of grade X. Educators agree that, in general, it is advisable to defer the making of a choice regarding specialized instruction to the end of grade XI when the student is sixteen years of age. By and large, the more mature the student, the more intelligent the choice with respect to specialized education. Equally important is the fact that the scope and content of a program of general edu-

cation have broadened to such an extent as to justify the absorption of the tenth grade for that purpose.

The establishment of a junior-college program makes it possible for interested students to secure training on the semiprofessional level in commercial, technical, and trade areas. An example in point is the Fashion Institute at the Central High School of Needle Trades in New York City. The proposed Veterans Institutes in New York State will present programs to 5,000 students on the junior-college or technical-institute level in various vocational areas. Where school systems include specialized high schools, the extension of the public schools to the junior-college level presents no insurmountable difficulties.

Adult education encompasses all the formal and informal educational efforts that take place after the period of compulsory education has ended. Whereas adult education was originally limited to making the immigrant literate and to preparing him for citizenship, it has now widened its program to meet the needs of all adults. A high degree of sensitivity to adult needs and of flexibility is required for the success of any adult educational program. The advice and counsel of representative adults and adult groups should be obtained and utilized in setting up a program. When this is done, it is amazing to see how much good can be accomplished in the education of adults on the basis of limited appropriations.

Few educational developments have aroused greater public attention and controversy than the proposal to extend public education downward to the nursery-school level. The nursery-school program for children from two to five years of age originated in colleges and universities interested in child growth and development. During the depression, the Works Progress Administration encouraged the development of prekindergarten classes. More recently, during the Second World War, additional impetus was given to the establishment of nursery-school classes under the

provisions of the Lanham Act. Yet the expansion of the nursery-school movement has been slow. Recent estimates indicate that not more than 10 per cent of the children aged two to five are now accommodated in nursery school or kindergarten, the majority in the large cities. Furthermore, only 20 per cent of the five-year-old children the nation over can be enrolled in kindergarten under existing facilities.

Educators agree that early identification and treatment of handicaps and disorders offer the most promising returns. Early childhood presents a golden opportunity for ironing out incipient tendencies toward emotional, social, and moral maladjustment. All too often children who are admitted to the first grade without previous schooling present serious problems in attitude and behavior which the parents have overlooked and failed to have treated. Such untoward developments might well be eliminated or reduced on the nursery-school or kindergarten level, were such facilities available to all the children.

It is estimated that expenditures amounting to a half-billion dollars would be required to assure an acceptable program of kindergarten and nursery-school education on a nation-wide scale. Yet the problem of obtaining adequate financial support is not as difficult as that of overcoming the antipathy of a large segment of the public to what appears to be a drastic step in the direction of state control of children. If the program of early childhood education is to make demonstrable progress within the next decade, it is essential that the basic rights of parents to supervise the development of their children during their first five years be guaranteed. Important as it is at all times, co-operation between the home and the school is uniquely important during early childhood. In this connection, it should be pointed out that a program of parental education must be an intrinsic part of any worthwhile program of early childhood education.

Each postwar period in our history has been marked by a

notable expansion in the scope and functioning of the public schools. The current postwar period finds the public schools engaged in an epoch-making effort toward meeting the needs of all the children of elementary- and secondary-school age and toward extending its field of activity to the preschool and adult levels. These dynamic developments point up the enduring and vital contributions which the public schools can and must make to the continuing advancement of the American way of life.

C Frederick Pertsch is Assistant Superintendent of the Board of Education of the City of New York.

AMERICAN EDUCATION, THE CONTRIBUTION TO "THE DIGNITY AND WORTH OF THE INDIVIDUAL"

Anna Porter Burrell

Our inheritance of freedom originated in the desire of a small group of people to live their own lives as individuals "responsible only to God and their neighbors" For this desire, they willingly toiled and underwent untold hardships The age-old tenet of "the dignity and worth of the individual" was embodied in the philosophies of such men as Paine, Jefferson, and Lincoln It is predicated on the acceptance of *human* values and the evaluation of man for what he is rather than by the extraneous yardsticks of birth and economic position. The integrity of the individual is held sacred. That man and society are perfectible, that progress is possible, is taken for granted. Each person is assumed to be equal in rights, both ethic and legal, and to be entitled to equal, though not necessarily identical, opportunity for developing his unique potentialities to the highest level.

The American ideal remains, although it has changed and is changing in application Each century has seen a broadening and deepening interpretation of the democratic concept as the population has progressed from the relative homogeneity of the early seventeenth-century society to the heterogeneity of today Early in America's life, many of the people were relatively close in ideal, aims, and adventuresomeness of spirit, as well as in national background. They were pioneers, grappling with the wilderness, willing to accept present privation for the sake of their future Their recognition of the worth of the individual was basically in terms of their own homogeneous group

Thomas Jefferson was the great proponent during the eighteenth century of the rights of man and the dignity of the individual His deep-seated faith in people led him to espouse the liberal cause. He trusted "the people" as the foundation and ultimate security of self-governing institutions The enlightenment

of the people as a whole was his aim. Nevertheless, even Jefferson was not prepared to extend the concept of equality to include all. His emphasis was upon equality for freeholders rather than workers, although he recognized to a great extent the rights of the latter.

During the Industrial Revolution hand power gave way to machine power. This change brought about a greater concentration of people in northern cities. Though not landowners, they sought and won the right to vote. Recognition of the political rights of nonproperty owners and extension of the ideal of equal opportunity to include certain economic rights followed with the introduction of craft and trade unions during the first half of the nineteenth century. The reaction of man toward the machine involved the rebuilding of collective groups and, to a considerable extent, of the individual personality, and the reorientation of all forms of thought and social activity. During this era the Civil War brought theoretical abolition of the color line as a bar to freedom, equality, and respect. Liberation of the last large disfranchised group in America came with the Woman Suffrage Amendment following the First World War, a milestone in the sporadic advance of the ideal of individual dignity and worth.

The right to grow up without exploitation was given recognition in child-labor restrictions, and the constitutionality of the Fair Labor Standards Act was established in 1941. Rulings of the Fair Employment Practices Commission, a wartime federal agency set up in 1943, and permanent measures enacted in a few states were calculated to give the same employment opportunities to all racial, national, and religious groups.

The liberation of large segments of the American people, the worker, the Negro, the woman, and the child, indicate the broadening base of political, economic, and social participation, and the share that racial, national, and religious groups are playing in the working out of American democracy. The ideal is chang-

ing in emphasis and direction from the "rugged individualism" of the early days to the not so rugged individualism of today. Claims that every individual has an unlimited right to be different without consideration for others are generally frowned upon today. The concept now emphasizes individuality to the extent and in the areas where it is good for both the individual and the group. Group action conversely must be for group purposes that do not negate the rights of the individual or minimize individual differences that are cherished.

Parallel with the development of the principles of American democracy came changes in American education stressing the concepts of the worth of the individual. Formerly, education was concerned almost completely with the wealthy and the verbally brilliant. Education in the Colonies was primarily supported by various authoritarian groups. In New England, where public education began, religious schools were founded. In the Southern Colonies, wealthy landlords hired private tutors to instruct their own children and grudgingly established inferior charity schools for the poor. In towns and small farms along the eastern coast the "bound boy" fared a little better, for the apprenticeship system was the nearest approach to universal education which America could claim for nearly two centuries. Such educational arrangements were a far cry from schools of today where there has been a ceaseless struggle for the extension of education to all.

The changing concept brought about new processes designed to serve all or nearly all of the people. The influence of the frontier and wilderness and the substantial economic and social equality of the people began to break down Old World class barriers in education. Second-generation colonists began to demand American schools that would educate their children for their day and location. Many boys and girls found no schools equipped to teach what they most needed; others were financially unable to pay for the education offered. Finally, free, tax-sup-

ported public schools began to open to many regardless of creed or condition, and universal education was envisioned.

During the past fifty years great strides have been made in the direction of developing a genuinely American education. The existence of free schools from kindergarten to university in many of the states is an effective and living demonstration on the part of democratic society of its obligation to provide for the education of its people. As American education developed, working toward the goal of the recognition of the individual, a series of changes were noted.

Economic Status

Economic status was the first emphasis for selection of those to be educated. Those whose parents could afford tutors or tuition to privately operated seminaries received education. The "gentlemen and gentlewomen" were given educations because they came from families that could afford to pay for instruction.

The Bright versus the Dull

The bright versus the dull was the next concern of the educational system. Schools were geared for a long period to the verbally brilliant. Emphasis was placed on the narrow aspect of intelligence at this time. In the remote past, intelligence was regarded as a special gift of generous gods to man, or at least to the upper classes of men. According to this idea, the divine spark of intelligence could be trusted to guide humanity continuously in the path of social progress. For a time educators gave little or no attention to mechanical, artistic, or musical abilities of the individual. Concern was with the so-called intellectual abilities and one who did not possess these in marked degree was considered dull and therefore little was offered in the field of education to meet his needs. The schools seemed to function as a screening device, a classification center, and held out to the intellectual an opportunity for secondary and higher education.

The emphasis placed on testing in the first quarter of the twentieth century was aimed not so much at evaluating the individual but to place him within a quantitative class, which obscured truly individualized traits. Our mechanical, industrialized civilization was concerned with averages and percentages. Little attention was given to making use of individual intelligence, of the needs, interests, and abilities that take the child from where he is and carry him forward.

Health Concern

The ideal of the worth and integrity of the individual was further implemented by a serious concern for the health of America's children. Realizing that a changing society requires periodic reinterpretation of the nature of this responsibility, special attention has been given to the matter of the individual's health. The span of life has been lengthened by modern science and economy. The improvement of personal health and physical fitness has been repeatedly stated as an important objective for secondary education. It is one of the seven cardinal principles of education. This policy was developed on the theory that physical fitness influences all other phases of fitness and of course is affected by them. It then becomes an important tool toward the development of the individual in his total picture. For that reason schools place great stress on health. A democracy with its respect for individual life and happiness is dedicated to the proposition that all children should be wellborn, carefully guarded against avoidable infections, properly nourished in body and mind, and given an environment in which they can grow in healthful maturity and have a chance to live long, happily, and well. Safety from mental and physical disease suggests safety from accidents. It is believed that the educated person will cherish a sincere interest not only in his own health but in maintaining the health standards of the entire community.

The Depression and Economics

The schools of the nation were offered a great challenge following the economic collapse of 1929. They worked not only to meet the physical but also the social and economic needs of children shattered by poor housing, inadequate food, lack of dental and medical care, and the widening circle of unemployment. Lunches helped the hungry child who came to school without breakfast or without prospects of much for supper. Carfare funds permitted children living at distances to continue their schooling. Teachers were aware that undernourished children, needing medical and dental care, fatigued and with lowered vitality, were in no condition to learn, and care was taken to provide for these children. Social workers, guidance counselors, and teachers tried to meet the needs and to bolster the courage not only of the children but, wherever possible, their parents also.

The Curriculum

The changing curriculum is another step in the evolution of education toward recognizing the worth and integrity of every individual regardless of his socioeconomic status. As long as the function of the elementary schools was simply to teach the three R's and that of the secondary schools and colleges to prepare a professional elite, the educational institutions of the country derived few important implications from the ideal of the individual's right to self-determination, to freedom of choice, and his freedom to grow. When educators began to revolt against traditional subject matter and authoritarian methods they affirmed the right of the individual to exercise his own discretion, to follow his own interests in choosing the areas of experience in school. This right to self-determination was extended even into elementary education.

The development of the school curriculum cannot be traced through the centuries without noting that important changes

have occurred. Four outstanding motivations become apparent in the overview of the evolution of the curriculum in its developing recognition of the individual.

The religious motivation was stressed in the subject matter from 1635 to 1770. During this period, schools were essentially class institutions as illustrated by the roster of Harvard University; there the students were listed according to social standing. Girls could secure only rudimentary training until the academies appeared.

Though the curriculum of the schools did not change appreciably during the first century and a half of the life of the nation, changes in economy, social life, political beliefs, and educational practices were occurring especially in the last fifty years of this period, 1770-1860. This political motivation was reinforced by two movements which have been fundamental in American life; namely, the extension to all citizens of the right to vote, and the development of "rugged individualism." Beginning in earnest around 1820 the struggle for free education at public expense was not definitely decided until after the middle of the nineteenth century.

Looking at the curriculum development from 1860 to 1920, the utilitarian motive was found to predominate in American education. Evidence of this is found in the establishment of the public high school with emphasis upon its function for preparation for immediate work as well as for college; the establishment of specialized schools, such as commercial and technical high schools. More and more, subjects of practical nature were admitted to the secondary-school curriculum (1890) with accompanying features of much free election.

Full victory for the utilitarians was not achieved until after 1910 when experimental practices in psychology and education shifted the focus from subject matter to the child. The psychologists made notable contributions to the curriculum. The psy-

chology of individual differences was formulated during the second decade of the twentieth century. Attention was called to the fact that no two individuals can be required to follow the same pattern of growth and development. Each pupil was recognized as having his own rate of learning and growth.

Mass education, 1920 to date, is a further example of new meanings given to the idea of respect for the individual. The dominating factor in educational philosophy in America today is the desire to secure the equalization of educational opportunity for all children throughout the nation. This equalization of educational opportunity means equalization of length of the school term, of school facilities, and good instruction for all children by properly qualified teachers. Some educational leaders have given broader meaning to the term defining it as an attempt by educators to widen the horizon and extend the base of the curriculum. They believe that each child should have the opportunity, under competent guidance, to develop fully and richly as an individual and as a co-operating member of an interdependent society. These educators maintain that the school curriculum instead of being "subject-minded" should be "child-centered."

The influence of textbooks on the curriculum is powerful and vice versa. Many textbooks are now showing good examples of the change that came about gradually through the influence of different educational emphases.

Emotional Factors

Emphases on the economic status, verbal intelligence, and health of the individual, as well as on the curriculum, are still receiving attention in our schools today. In addition to these emphases, concern is being given at the present time to the emotional needs of the individual. The importance of being "well-informed" is not disparaged in the present educational systems. No person will deny the desirability of training children to use

language accurately and effectively, to understand quantitative relationships, and to manipulate figures speedily and accurately. But evidence exists that these skills can be acquired most easily and rapidly as by-products of other activities and experiences. When children's emotional needs are met and when they are eager to discover something which seems important to their own lives, and needs, they are quick to acquire the skills that will help them learn and assimilate experience. By changing the orientation of the early years in school to make them contribute more directly to meeting the needs of the individual, we also accomplish more effectively the training of pupils in the fundamental skills.

The needs manifested by growing individuals are causing a considerable modification of the school curriculum and educational techniques. Curricular reorganization is being undertaken to give attention to maladjustment in terms of excessive deprivation, frustration, or insecurity which denies the child opportunity to fulfill the basic needs of his developing personality. The program and life of the school is becoming such, in many instances, as to assign subject matter and skills to the service of personality development, critical social action, values, and techniques of co-operative living. Such an approach does not underestimate the value of scholarship and does not limit the scope of content. It stresses the necessity to give adequate attention to the emotional needs.

Concern for the Individual in the Group

Respect for individual worth is important, but equally important is the respect the individual gives to the group. It is necessary to study the child in relation to the group and the group situation. Each aspect of the cultural pattern must be seen in terms of what it means to the growing individual in it, each individual must be studied in terms of what he is looking for and

receiving from the pattern about him. Oddly enough, the individual-centered culture actually has no concern with the problems of the individual as such. It is concerned with the problems of people living with one another, concerned with the individual flowing into the pattern and the pattern similarly into him.

Especially since the beginning of the depression considerations have modified the interpretation of the educational implications of the philosophy of individual rights. It has been increasingly recognized that the welfare of individuals depends upon effective collective action and upon the maintenance of adaptability in social institutions. Individuals must accept some limitations of their freedom to act; the welfare of others achieves equal importance with the self-interest as a criterion of acceptable behavior. Because the schools are the social institutions giving formal training to the young, this modification of the individualist philosophy has profound implications for curricular changes and educators are working to meet the challenge.

Human Values

Many educators believe that the real values to this world are human rather than material values; that real gains in civilization are made only through improvement of mankind. Educational purposes are rooted in the life of a people.

The purposes of schools evolve, reflecting and interacting with the purposes that permeate the life of the people. For example, educational purposes in the early Colonial days were largely religious. It was thought necessary that each person consult the Bible at firsthand, hence each person must learn to read. Today reading instruction is not justified by the act of reading itself, but rests upon such considerations as effective living and personal enjoyment. The controlling purpose represents a choice of values.

American educators realize that there can be no lasting contribution to the ideal of the dignity of the individual from schools

in which discipline is based on autocracy, where the atmosphere is heavy with intolerance and fear, where practice ignores or overwhelms the personality of each child. The ideal approaches recognition in a school with a broad, humane, and flexible curriculum where there is respect for the personality of each child, and where teachers and supervisors not only teach but actually practice the ideal of human equality.

What has been said of education in general gives the wrong impression if one reads and infers the same emphasis among all groups of the population. As in all processes of evolution, the growing contribution of American education to the dignity and worth of the individual is marred by many obvious discrepancies between the ideal and the practices. Any examination of the national educational system or of the countless documents such as the President's "Report on Civil Liberties," the "Report on Higher Education for American Democracy," or Gunnar Myrdal's *American Dilemma* reveals concrete evidences of great inequalities.

Despite these inequalities the schools of America are making positive contributions within many educational areas. The following are illustrative of these gains:

The discovery, training, and utilization of individual talents through scholarships and fellowships. Here abilities which might otherwise have been lost because of straitened economic circumstances are utilized.

The shift in education from a narrowly conceived concentration upon the mental-intellectual aspects of development of pupils to a broadly organized program which includes the all-around development of the person, a development that includes not only the scholastic aspects of the child's life but also his social effectiveness, his emotional health and maturity, and his physical well-being and health. This broader program gives attention to the wholeness of a person functioning as an integrated individual.

The realization on the part of administrators at all levels that equal opportunity requires diversified curricula.

The provision of counseling in mass education as a means for adapting instruction to the individual.

The tremendous rise in school enrollment at all levels including adult education.

The alertness of teachers to the unmet needs of each child.

The more intimate relationship existing between the school and the community.

The recognition on the part of the majority of the nation's school systems of the need for increased attention to the problem of better human relationships

The assimilation of the racial and religious components of our citizenry within the public schools in most parts of our country.

The emphasis on improved teacher-training programs aimed at understanding the child and the importance of human values.

Our schools are working to implement America's experiment in living together—that experiment which has arisen out of the conviction that the most rewarding ways of living are those by which every person works not only to further his own development but to help others realize their best potentialities. Thus the school continues to espouse the cause of the dignity and worth of the individual, that ideal which develops as we progress toward it. It is by sharing in the creation of this ideal and by appraising progress toward its attainment that the schools can make their most significant and dynamic contributions to the culture of America.

Anna Porter Burrell is assigned to the Curriculum Council of the Board of Education of New York City.

THE ROLE OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH IN A DEMOCRACY

Harold H. Abelson

It is no secret that the march toward democracy is not an easy jaunt. The road is rough and broken. Along its sides are snipers and armed bands, eager to prevent further advance and to cause retreat. The marchers themselves are not always sure of the route. Some are not adequately equipped for the excursion. Progress is uneven and slow.

Education is a crucial weapon in the struggle toward democracy—but not just any kind of education. The forces of education can be turned toward or away from the goals of democracy. Which way these forces will go depends on a number of things, not least among which is the provision the educational system makes for research and appraisal.

But just as it does not follow that *any* kind of education will assure democracy, so we cannot expect to find that *any* kind of research program will help education to achieve its democratic objectives. It is the purpose of the present paper to inquire into the special characteristics of American educational research as they relate to the achievement of democratic purposes.

That educational research in this country is essentially a democratic movement is evidenced by the absence of a research oligarchy. Instead of a small clique consisting of the academically elite, thousands of practitioners from every type of educational position participate in the many research enterprises that are conducted each year. True, much wasted effort results from the limited research training and experience of the great majority of participants, but it is easy to sense the democratic implication of such widespread participation. Educational research in America is a grass-roots movement.

The very popularity of the research enterprise in American education is a further sign of democratic strength, for any insti-

tution that is willing to examine itself with a view toward self-improvement is likely to grow in effectiveness. It would be naive indeed to assert that educators have not manifested the common human tendency toward inertia and defensive rationalization. Much research has been instigated for the primary purpose of bringing pseudoscientific support to the assistance of preconceived notions. All too frequently research has been made the servant of the educational propagandist or the official with a predetermined program to sell. Notwithstanding the occasional misuse of research, however, one can discern a large undercurrent of genuine inquiry in the amazingly rapid increase in research interest during the twentieth century.

Freedom and willingness to question marked the educational research movement from its beginning. Consider, for example, the questioning of the doctrine of formal discipline in the 1890's which occasioned such epochal studies as James's experimental disproof of a "faculty" of memory and J. M. Rice's startling finding of the "futility of the spelling grind." The results of these studies ran counter to the then widely accepted theories; yet the investigators were given a hearing, and their discoveries prevailed. Does it really matter that in the beginning the methodology of research may have been shot through with weaknesses of one sort or another if essentially the process of inquiry is free and self-searching?

What shall we say of the shifting interests, methods, and postulates of educational research during its fifty-year history? Broadly speaking, during the early period efficiency, quantification, and narrow utilitarianism seemed to prevail. Counting, measuring, correlating, and experimenting were regarded virtually as the essence of research procedure. No doubt the disrepute into which the older forms of educational speculation had fallen served to narrow the methodological horizon of the early investigators. But the spirit of open inquiry and discussion itself soon brought

to light the need for a broader and deeper outlook. Consideration of goals and values began to impinge upon narrower questions of means and methods; the need for investigating the deeper dynamic hypotheses became evident. The percentage of superficially concerned studies has decreased over the years. Researchers have learned from their earlier mistakes. Continued critical comment on the outlook and techniques of research, such as appear from time to time in the *Review of Educational Research*, augurs well for future growth and development.

But, as we review the course of the research movement in American education, are we not mistaking the chaotic torrent of a flood for the stately flow of a river? Has not research been marked by a wanton individualism, an unthinking show of activity, an unchartered course? What of the many small, inconclusive, oft-duplicated but nondefinitive studies? What of the frequent disregard of previous research and scholarship on the part of investigators? The resultant pile of deadwood is high indeed; no one can deny that. What we may reject, however, is the implication that specifically unproductive efforts are necessarily fruitless. Such an inference is particularly inapplicable to learning situations. In all modesty, we must acknowledge that a generation of educational researchers cannot spring up overnight. A long period of experimental learning is a prerequisite to consistently mature and effective research.

One line of evidence of research progress and democratic co-operation is to be found in the slow but discernible improvement in the co-ordination of research effort. Those who participated in educational research in the twenties can readily recall how difficult it was then even to locate the titles of previous research. True, Walter S. Monroe had prepared several mimeographed lists of educational theses and the then United States Bureau of Education had already begun its yearly listing of unpublished materials, but the *Educational Index* did not enter

the field until 1929 and the *Review of Educational Research* did not appear until 1931. Today at least there is less excuse than twenty years ago for undertaking a research study without first becoming aware of previous work in the field

Organized programs of research resulting from the activities of research bureaus, foundation grants, and the like have undergone unspectacular but significant development. Considering the huge sums that are spent on education, the amount allocated to research by educational agencies is woefully inadequate, but here too the curve is upward in direction. It must be remembered that the need for freedom of inquiry and for individual initiative in research argue for limitations on the amount of co-ordinated control. It is safe to say, however, that educational research still has a long way to go before it could be characterized as being overco-ordinated.

Again, one may complain of a relatively disorganized pattern of research as evidenced by the fact that, by and large, each individual is encouraged to select his research problem very much on his own initiative. To understand the true significance of this phenomenon one must view it more as typically democratic respect for the individual than as laissez-faire negligence or a false valuing of rugged individualism. To the individual, research activity is not divorced from his needs as a teacher or administrator and as a person undergoing general professional growth. To most persons research is a part of learning and development. Hence the project must relate to the background and interests of the researcher, whatever they are. The imposition of research tasks upon persons who are emotionally and intellectually unprepared for them is likely to result only in poor research and in limited professional gain. Research development and professional development must move forward together. Both take time. If the result is to be a genuine improvement in educational functioning, neither can be unduly accelerated.

The reader is undoubtedly aware of the many-sided implications of the fact that American educational research is basically a popular movement, a kind of folk research, as it were. This fact finds significant expression in the choice of problems for research. Democratic research seeks out for study those problems that reflect the needs of practical workers in the field. Once the floodgates are opened, teachers and administrators bring forth a veritable torrent of questions. Consider, for example, the following initial statements of problems: "Our school offers a variety of vocational high-school courses other than the commercial. Many of the girls enter the ninth grade with less than seventh-grade arithmetic ability. What kind of arithmetic instruction shall we offer these girls?" "I teach a sixth-grade class where we are expected to correlate literature with other subjects like geography and history. Shouldn't the children have an opportunity to read the good things in literature regardless of their correlation with other subjects?" "I have just given a friendship questionnaire to my junior-high-school classes and find that cliques have been formed along national and other group lines. How can I break down these cliques?" "We have a dozen children in our school with I Q's over 150. We don't know whether, if we make special arrangements for them, they won't miss the opportunity of learning how to get along with people less intelligent than themselves."

The academically oriented scientific worker may wince at the scope and wording of questions such as these, for they are couched in terms of particular rather than general issues and are applicational rather than fundamental in their orientation. He may sense that any thorough analysis of these questions will carry one into the realm of values, and may consider that realm foreign to scientific research. He may even argue that concrete questions imbedded in an evaluative frame of reference lead to a false utilitarianism rather than to long-range application and progress. Yet, instead of rejecting the felt needs of the people concerned, con-

temporary research takes them as starting points for the more comprehensive and basic inquiry ordinarily associated with the scientific method

The translation of realistic problems into research terms requires the help of scientifically trained experts. In democratic research the specialist works co-operatively with people in the field in the clarification of problems and in efforts to solve them. It would be a mistake to assume that effective research could be done without expert leadership. In the democratic setup, just as the views of the general practitioner are regarded with interest and respect, so is the guidance of the research specialist sought. The sharing of goals and the mutual contribution of ideas are nuclear elements in democratic endeavor. The research expert must co-ordinate research activity, help to translate particularized questions into more generalized and hence more widely applicable issues, and assist in the selection and application of special investigational techniques.

The role of the democratically oriented research specialist is a complex one that requires for its execution a number of qualities of intellectual and social leadership. In this type of functional research setting the specialist cannot accept the role of a technician, but must inquire into matters of policy and objective, both of which he must try to clarify for himself and help others to clarify. In essence, he must share with the other participants both the purposes and the means of the research enterprise.

As one traces the research implications of the democratic ideal, the very methods of research cannot escape attention. As an illustration of the relationship between democratic purpose and research methodology may be taken the frequently discussed issue concerning the place of evaluation in research. To the educational research worker the determination of acceptable value is as much a part of the research job as the establishment of effective means for achieving designated ends. Moreover, when determin-

ing values, the investigator shuns arbitrary and authoritarian sources and seeks out as best he can expressions of the aspirations of the community. This he does in co-operation with his co-workers. Thus, the research activity itself is, or can be, an experience in democracy.

The democratic ideal requires that, as far as is feasible, the participants in a research project, both subjects and co-operating professional personnel, be made aware of the purposes of the study and themselves undergo a developmental experience in the course of their participation. Negatively stated, the investigator must restrain any impulse he may have to *use* the participants toward his own ends. The application of this principle is difficult, but far-reaching in importance. The principle of democratic participation entails a conception of the research process as being interwoven with the educational process itself. A general paper is not the place for a discussion of the many technical questions that have to be considered in the light of this position. Suffice it to say that the increasingly popular "action" type of research has some bearing on the matter, although action research *can* be directed toward undemocratic ends. A clearer illustration of democratic participant research is to be found in recent curriculum-construction studies in activity-program settings. School self-appraisal studies may also reflect this conception of research.

No emphasis on participant awareness and interest as criteria of good research should blind us to the necessity for scientific cogency as a test of adequate research method. Clearly, while one may throw the weight of leadership in unit planning upon a sixth-grade class for teaching purposes, in a controlled experiment certain elements of content or procedure would have to be predetermined by the experimenter. Sometimes, too, extrinsic factors would be introduced were pupils made aware of specific experimental purposes, or even that a formal experiment was under way. In such instances the research project may have to be dis-

cussed with the pupils *after* the experiment factors have been applied, if the democratic ideal is to be maintained. It is not so much the detailed nature of the relationship between researcher and participants as the spirit of that relationship that counts. In research work as in other educational relationships it is a question whether democracy can be achieved through undemocratic behavior.

We have presented certain of the features of educational research in this country. In the light of the criteria of democratic research can we say that all is well with research? Obviously not. But the first fifty years of the research movement have given us a tool and a tradition that can become a great force for progress and democracy. How we develop and use this new-found resource remains to be seen.

Harold H. Abelson is the Director of the Educational Clinic of the College of the City of New York.

THE MANAGEMENT OF MEN

George E. Axtelle

The problems of management have changed greatly during recent centuries. When communities were small and comparatively independent of each other, when enterprise was on a small scale, and when group life had an intimate character, management was comparatively simple. Moreover, management had very different problems when communities were slowly changing, when status was definite, and relations long established, when authority was unquestioned, and when everyone knew his place and kept it. Giving and enforcing orders under such circumstances involved a minimum of administrative competence and of understanding of human nature.

The rise of the middle classes and the subsequent industrial revolution profoundly altered the problems of management. The power age and advanced technology have brought people together in vast numbers. Institutions and communities are enormously more complex and highly interdependent. Our several lives are bound together into a host of collectivities and these in turn interwoven into one interdependent world. We work in great numbers. Even doctors and scientists are coming to work together as teams. The fruits of our civilization are the product of mass production, mass consumption, and an enormously complex and varied division of labor.

Moreover, the spirit of men has undergone vast change. The earlier stages of capitalism bred a spirit of independence and moral equality. Men no longer take orders or suffer contempt passively as they once did. Management is no longer the simple administrative matter of organizing men as they might machines, and of giving orders. Human nature is no longer the same. The psychology of serfdom and slavery cannot operate on scientific-technological society.

The natural sciences revolutionized industry and agriculture

In doing so they have placed an enormous burden upon the arts of management. We have long since given up magic, incantation, and coercion in the management of things. We have learned *rather to study and learn how things work and what to expect of them under given conditions*. We are beginning to do the same in the management of men. There are many in both public administration and private management who believe that a new frontier is to be found in the arts of management when they are informed and guided by an understanding of men. Thus they are beginning to employ scientific methods to inquire into the working conditions and relationships which call forth men's best energies.

Thus the application of the natural sciences to the arts of production *now force upon us the necessity of making similar application of scientific methods and bodies of knowledge to problems of human relations*. The development of the human sciences and their application to the problems of management should bring even greater fruits than the growth and application of the natural sciences because of the greater potentials locked in human nature. When the arts of management learn how to release intelligence, moral purpose, and a sense of community among men they will touch every aspect of our common lives. They will not only increase the physical efficiency of industry, agriculture, government bureaus, and other operating agencies, they will enhance the significance of our occupational life and give labor its true sense of dignity. More deeply and profoundly they will transform human relations in all institutions, in the home, the school, the church, the club, industry, and political life. War itself can be finally abolished only when we have a scientific knowledge of our culture and of the cultures of other peoples, and when this understanding is translated into the arts of management and diplomacy. The concept of management itself will undergo profound change. Management will come to be less the art of administering authority and more the art of helping groups to organize

themselves in such ways as call forth their greatest powers individually and collectively.

Some fear that the growth of the human sciences and their application to management may prove a great Frankenstein that will forever enchain humanity to the dictates of the ambitious. They fear that it will but complete the concentration of power which the growth and application of the natural sciences has so effectively started. They see them as instruments by which industrial management will more completely exploit its workers, and political adventurers bind men's wills to their ends. They fear that churches and schools will become more efficient instruments for the enslavement of men's minds.

We cannot ignore this possibility. Those seeking power will certainly employ whatever instruments may be at their disposal, but so too may those who seek to liberate men, to help them to achieve their full stature. The human sciences will likewise be instruments awaiting those who would free themselves. It is true that Hitler made much use of psychological techniques against both his own people and his enemies. But it is interesting to note that those techniques had only a very short-run efficiency. They were not the kind that could free intelligence or develop a wider sense of community.

Those groups and societies will survive and grow in power that best learn how to provide freedom to think, to plan, to develop initiative and resourcefulness. They will also learn not only how to develop a deep sense of community within the group but how to relate themselves effectively to other groups.

If we have learned anything about men it is that they are born for freedom. That is to say, men achieve their fullest potentialities, imagination, intelligence, creativity, sociality only under freedom. They must have room for growth, room to be men. That is why the early stages of capitalism possessed such an enormous

dynamic. Men's minds as well as their bodies were freed. They achieved powers of which they had never dreamed. America's greatness and power is often explained by her wealth of resources. But these resources were not available to the Indians. America's greatness lies in the millions who found freedom here to grow. With that freedom they made use of her resources. Capitalism has now reached an advanced stage. The earlier conditions of freedom no longer exist but the spirit is still here and is moving to master these new conditions.

Men knew that unsupported bodies fall to the earth before Newton formulated the law of gravitation. That law simply gave that primitive fact a scientific form and related it to all physical bodies in their relations to one another. We do not need an advanced human science to tell us that freedom is essential to man's fullest development. It can, however, tell us more fundamentally what this fact means and relate it to all human relationships. Any human science must begin with this fact. The significance of *freedom for human life* is assurance that the human sciences must in the end serve the common interests of men.

Although the human sciences are in their infancy we do not have to wait for their maturity to apply them to the problems of management. Actually management offers the most fruitful field for the study of human nature. As problems of industry, agriculture, and navigation stimulated the natural sciences, so we may expect that problems of management will be the great stimulus to the human sciences. Scientific method and scientific knowledge is already making itself felt in management. What are some of the things we have learned about management?

Traditionally, management has been conceived in rather simple terms, with a big boss at the top and directions, orders, regulations, and instructions flowing down through the hierarchical structure to lower levels. Such a conception had little

place in it for initiative, resourcefulness, intelligent judgment, or discretion, except at the top. Like the Almighty, the boss had but to say "let it be" and it was.

Progressive management, on the other hand, recognizes that the most important thing about an organization is not its lines of authority and systems of sanctions, but the sense of purpose, the potential intelligence, general capacity, effective participation, and the specific skills of its personnel. It conceives its highest responsibility to be the cultivation of the human resources of the staff both individually and collectively. This takes time and staff. Because of the oversimple conception of management, administrative and supervisory officers commonly lack the assistance necessary to do a good management job. Therefore, the more human aspects of management are often ignored or sacrificed to program responsibility.

Progressive management is becoming alert to this problem. It is beginning to recognize that high-level performance demands an apparatus of leadership, a program, and a staff to carry out a high level of management operation. It is coming to recognize that management involves a variety of functions and talents heretofore unrecognized. What are some of these functions and talents?

It has generally been recognized that selection and placement of staff has some bearing on the effective performance of a group. Its importance, however, has seldom been comprehended. There is probably no more important responsibility of management than the determination of the personnel of the group. The degree to which members of the group can take on training, assimilate information, and enter effectively into participation, to which they can organize and plan their work, is of utmost importance to the effectiveness of the group. Almost if not equally important is their belief in the importance of the program and their zeal to participate. Having chosen a member of the group, it is equally important that he be properly placed, that his skills and capacities

match his responsibilities. If placed beyond his level he is soon subject to frustration and demoralization. If his full talents are not utilized he is like a big motor in a small car. A person who is misplaced in a group soon loses his sense of challenge and personal significance. A number of such persons in a group generate a spirit of mediocrity and soddenness or torpor.

There are many kinds of groups in which there can be little selection of membership. The family, school, and church, for example, generally accept the membership they happen to have. In such groups and in those which may have control over their membership as well, the task of management is to help the group organize its operations in such ways as challenges the best energies of its members.

A high level of group performance depends upon effective communications throughout the group. Each member of the group must be able to see the group as a whole, and to recognize the roles of the various parts of the group (including his own) in carrying on the total activity of the group. The problem of information and communication increases greatly with the size of the group. Whatever its size, however, its effective operation depends upon the success with which its members can take the role of the group as a whole and of its major parts.

This was doubtless the main consideration of Plato and Aristotle in their insistence that the city-state should be small enough that one could view its boundaries from its highest eminence. Growth of communications instruments is a necessary precondition to the growth in size and effectiveness of political and economic units. The magnitude of contemporary organizations places an exceedingly heavy burden upon this function. Only as the members of an organization have a clear conception of it in its totality and in its several parts can they be intelligent in their own performance.

The problem of communication, however, extends beyond the

boundaries of the organization itself. Whether a public agency, a private industry, a voluntary organization, or a family, the group must see itself in its social role. It must have a sense not only of its own identity, it must also be informed of the consequences of its operations for the general public, and of the response of the public to its operations. This program of information and communication is essential not only that the members of the group may effectively identify themselves with the group emotionally and comprehend their roles intellectually, but that they may properly conceive themselves and their group in their moral capacity. The whole personality is moved to put forth its best energies, its devotion, initiative, imagination, resourcefulness, when it finds itself in a situation where it can join its energies with others in pursuit of a significant end.

The most vital form of communication, of course, is that which occurs in the daily course of active participation. To the degree that the members of a group share in the development of policy, in discovering the significant facts of their situation, in examination of the various assumptions that underlie their program, in planning and organizing for the future, to that degree they can act with intelligence, imagination, and devotion. Their active participation informs them of the ways in which they need to improve their own skills and understanding. It supplies not only stimulus to growth, but defines directions of growth. Effective management is alert to provide the training facilities for which the members of the group recognize a need. Education or training then takes on the character of a rifle aimed at a point. Since the end of training is understood by the learners, they are aware when they have achieved it.

Yet the ends of education in the group are by no means narrowed. Actually they are vastly broadened, but since education is a function of a co-operative enterprise specific ends may be sharply defined while at the same time they are integral in a broad con-

text. It should be recognized that the whole career of the group is broadly educative to the degree that communication and participation are effective. It is educative not only in specialized and technical matters, it is educative in the deepest intellectual, social, and moral respects. The life of the group cultivates a scrupulous respect for facts; it cultivates the intellectual disciplines involved in seeing the bearing of the facts upon the goals and program of the group. Participation in planning and executing a program, in entertaining hypotheses and seeing their consequences in action, in formation of policy and making decision, all these involve intellectual discipline of a high order. At the same time such a life develops the sense of community and moral responsibility. To the degree that communication is effective in developing the sense of social purpose of the group and keeps the group informed of the social consequences and responses resulting from its program, the deeper springs of social consciousness are released.

Management so conceived has little concern for the principle of authority and discipline as forms of coercion. Authority and discipline reside in the collective undertaking of the group. Management becomes rather a high type of leadership, a leadership devoted to the arts of co-operative thinking, planning, and execution. It is concerned as much with the *quality* of group life as with the products of its operations. Progressive management is devoted to the freeing and cultivation of the distinctively human energies of the group. Progressive or competent management is thus democratic leadership.

A vastly higher type of skill is demanded for such management than for the traditional authoritarian management. It involves insight, imagination, and understanding of a high order. It demands ceaseless observation and study of human situations to locate points at which the democratic process has broken down. The larger the size of the group, the more complex the problem, the more important the character of subordinates. Democratic

management involves a great deal of time devoted to the group process. There must be time for interaction, time for consultation, time for planning together, time for informal social intercourse. The work schedule must make specific provision for the democratic process to function.

Management as here used refers equally to the role of parent, teacher, principal, minister, industrialist, labor leader, public administrator, political leader, head of state, diplomat, or a leader of a voluntary organization. Management is involved wherever one has responsibility for the activities of others. The physical and biological sciences have revolutionized our technology and agriculture. In doing so they have brought men together in vast numbers and in enormously complex relationships. The problems of management are vastly more complex and intricate. As the natural sciences have revolutionized the economic conditions of life, so we must look to the human sciences for aid in the organization and management of our group life.

Since men achieve their distinctive powers only under conditions of freedom, we should expect the human sciences to teach us how best to create those conditions. Competent management is constantly alert to discover those conditions, and makes use of human sciences in effecting them. It exploits the arts of communication to enable the group constantly to see itself as a totality and in its several parts. It helps the group see itself as an integral element of the broader culture in order that it may most effectively and intelligently perform its social role. It studies the group process, the process of group thinking and planning as well as execution. Competent management conceives its chief role as that of promoting the intellectual and social processes of the group. Competent administration is democratic administration, dedicated to the democratic values of the group and of the wider society.

No greater contribution can be made to the vitality and security of democracy than growth in the arts of democratic management.

and the application of the human sciences to management problems. Our character as a people is shaped by our primary institutions. The quality of family life, of life in the classroom, and in our occupations defines our basic values and forms our social skills. We may rest secure concerning the future of democracy when the character of management in these institutions results in the discipline of the democratic character of men.

George E. Axtelle is Professor of Education and Chairman of the Departments of History of Education and Philosophy of Education in the New York University School of Education.

EDITOR'S NOTE: *These four articles are the first of a series assessing the strength of American education which we have asked Dr Bristow to edit. The remaining articles will be presented in later issues.*

THE ROLE OF MYTHS IN CRITICAL EDUCATION

William Isaacs and Jules Kolodny

"In desperate situations man will always have recourse to desperate means—and our present-day political myths have been such desperate means. If reason has failed us, there remains the *ultima ratio*, the power of the miraculous and the mysterious."—Ernst Cassirer, *The Myth of the State*.

In an age of conflicting philosophies and warring political credos, the role of myths in maintaining or undermining old values, or in establishing new ones, has been increasingly discussed and publicized. Although their importance in any social order has long been recognized—Plato, Machiavelli, and Sorel understood their significance fully—the study of myths has been largely neglected. Because of the studies made by contemporary political theorists and sociologists, however, textbooks and periodicals are devoting more attention to the subject.

The problem is also one for educators to ponder. They should be considering how to handle the subject, especially in secondary schools. As we view it, this depends very much upon the individual teacher's political beliefs and educational premises. If he believes that his greatest concern must be to uphold, by whatever means, the democratic way of life as he understands it, his problem is simple: he must expose and undermine the myths of fascism and communism, and present those of capitalist democracy as undebatable truths. If, on the other hand, he maintains that the democratic philosophy, for all its faults, can hold its own in the competition of ideologies, if he believes that one of the main purposes of education is to develop the ability to think and to evaluate, he will not be averse to examine the myths of democracy along with those of other systems.

To those who accept the latter alternative, as we do, the problem is *not* whether or not to introduce myths into social-studies education, but rather: (1) Can an analysis of myths aid in promoting critical thinking? (2) If so, how should they be treated?

The term *myths*, unfortunately, has not been used in any precise sense. It has been loosely used to include: (a) classical and non-classical mythology; (b) folk tales, (c) political legends; (d) political myths. Since we are primarily concerned with the study of myths at the secondary-school and collegiate level rather than the elementary- and junior-high-school level, an inquiry into mythology¹ and folk tales² is omitted from this analysis.

Political Legends

American history abounds, as does all history, in political legends—the deliberate falsification of character and events for the purpose of promoting hero worship and a blind loyalty and devotion to country. Probably as a reaction to the incalculable damage done by the Paerson Weems school of history writing, many historians have completely removed from contemporary American history texts all traces of the standard legends (Columbus and the egg, the landing at Plymouth Rock, Captain John Smith and Pocahontas, George Washington and the cherry tree, and others). These legends are not mentioned, neither as true nor false. Some historians, however, have expressed their regrets; they hold that these legends “carefully integrated into courses of instruction in American history offer opportunities for the development of skills, understandings, and attitudes necessary to rational thinking ...”³

We too are of the opinion that political legends can be made to serve a useful purpose in training students to think, but only at higher educational levels. Whether presented as truths or legends, no significant educational purpose can be served by teaching them in primary grades. To depict them in lower-grade texts as his-

¹ See Leah Woods Wilkins, “Myths and Social Studies,” *Social Education*, February 1946, pp. 60-62.

² See L. E. Klee, “Folklore and the Development of Critical Thinking,” *Social Education*, October 1946, pp. 267-69.

³ Richard E. Thursfield, “Developing the Ability to Think Reasonably,” *The Study and Teaching of American History* (Seventeenth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies), p. 85.

torical truths would obviously be bad and undesirable; to present them as legends would likewise serve no good purpose. During the early formative years, fact and fancy easily become indistinguishable in the minds of children. Since it is desirable to provide reading materials that appeal to children's imaginations, mythology and folk tales should be utilized, these serve the purpose admirably without being seriously mistaken for historical truths.

In secondary-school texts, within the limits of available time and space, the arguments are well taken for an inclusion and a presentation of political legends, provided they are frankly presented as *legends*. They can very definitely be used to develop an ability to reason and to evaluate. " . . . Children in dealing with such materials become aware of bias, prejudice, exaggeration, propaganda, suppression of evidence, lack of sufficient sources, differing types of documents,—the genuine, the outright invention, the cheating document, the garbled document,—and factors affecting the reliability of testimony. They may consider the dangers involved in oversimplification and in too easy generalizations, the difficulties facing the historians and citizens in arriving at truth, the importance and varying dependability of original records or of contemporaneous testimony, and the relativity of historical 'facts'" ⁴

Artemus Ward's quip, "It is better not to know so many things than to know so many things that are not so," ⁵ may be applicable to the study of legends at the elementary-school level; it is doubtful whether this is so at secondary and collegiate levels.

Political Myths

The political myth, again, is quite different from mythology, folk tales, or even political legends. Political myths represent the common man's hopes and aspirations; they help give meaning,

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

purpose, and significance to social organization "The myth is the collective desire personified" ⁶

Robert M. MacIver says. "By *myths* we mean the value-impregnated beliefs and notions that men hold, that they live by or live for. Every society is held together by a myth-system, a complex of dominating thought-forms that determines and sustains all its activities. All social relations, the very texture of human society, are myth-born and myth-sustained." ⁷ Or, more cynically stated by George Woodcock: "The political myth might be described as a projection into the past, or, more often, the future, of a mirage based on the desires of a section of the people, which is used to induce them to follow some political group or embrace some programme, under the illusion that they will attain what they have seen in the mirage." ⁸

When a grave danger arises that threatens the community, and when it seems apparent that the issue cannot readily be resolved by recourse to reason, the myth emerges most strongly. Ernst Cassirer holds that the technique of the myth is much the same in modern times as it was among primitive peoples. Its essential elements are faith in a leader, belief in the magic of the spoken word, recourse to rituals, and reliance upon prophecy. In a crisis, the cry for a leader invariably arises. "The former social bonds—law, justice, and constitutions—are declared to be without value. What alone remains is the mystical power and authority of the leader and the leader's will is supreme law." ⁹ And how does the leader secure obedience? By the magnetism and the potency of the spoken word. Old words are "charged with meanings," and new words are "charged with feelings and violent passions." ¹⁰

⁶ E. Douillé, quoted in Ernst Cassirer, *The Myth of the State* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946), p. 280.

⁷ Robert M. MacIver, *The Web of Government* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947), p. 1.

⁸ George Woodcock, "The Functions of the Political Myth," *University Observer*, Spring/Summer 1947, p. 103.

⁹ Ernst Cassirer, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 283.

Supplementing magic words are rites and rituals which are performed by all strata of the population. "Every class, every sex, and every age has a rite of its own. . . . The effect of these new rites is obvious. Nothing is more likely to lull our active forces, our power of judgment and critical discernment, and to take away our feeling of personality and individual responsibility than the steady, uniform and monotonous performance of the same rites. . . ." ¹¹

Finally, to bind the people to their myths, the element of prophecy is introduced. "The politician becomes a sort of public fortune teller. Prophecy is an essential element in the new technique of rulership. The most improbable or even impossible promises are made; the millenium is predicted over and over again." ¹²

Man readily accepts these myths because, while they enslave him, they also set him free. "The new political parties promise, at least, an escape from the dilemma. They suppress and destroy the very sense of freedom, but at the same time, they relieve men from all personal responsibility." ¹³

Since it is always easier to recognize the myths of other social systems, those of the totalitarian states offer a most satisfactory starting point for analysis and evaluation. The Nazis propagated many fictions to enable them to seize and maintain power. These, in the main, are familiar. The myth of racism, the cry of encirclement, and the solemn assertion that Hitler alone could protect the liberty and freedom of the German people are among the more common of them. ¹⁴ Fortified by a convenient metaphysics—that propounded by Spengler in his *Decline of the West*—Nazi leaders proclaimed the manifest destiny of their state. To help bring an emotional unity to the people of the Third Reich, Goebbels created a new vocabulary of fighting, hating words "If we hear these words, we feel in them the whole gamut of emotions—

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 284-85

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 288-89

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 288

¹⁴ Robert M. MacIver, *op cit.*, pp. 261-62

of hatred, anger, fury, haughtiness, contempt, arrogance, and disdain." ¹⁵

The Communist system is also founded upon numerous myths. To explain the origins of their new society, Communists invoke the Marxian doctrine that "technological factors are the primary determinants of all social change," ignoring the paramount part played by Lenin, and the effective propaganda of the Communist party. As Woodcock notes, "The Bolsheviks gained power by using the potent promises of 'Land to the peasants, factories to the workers' and 'All power to the Soviets.'" But after the Communists had gained control, they soon relieved the peasants of their land and the workers of their factories, and vested both in a Soviet bureaucracy. The Soviet constitution of 1937 expresses the hopes and aspirations of the Russian people for a more democratic state. This constitution may be the most democratic constitution in the world, except that it is only a paper constitution. It legalizes only one party, and imposes upon the Russian people a secret police which "protects" them and their liberties from their "enemies." And when Harold J. Laski justifies Soviet excesses and proclaims Communism to be the beacon light which points to a newer and a better civilization ("It offers, as no rival offers, a way out for the common man from the bitter frustration of our time" ¹⁶), one may well ponder whether, in his zeal for the socialist society and his desire to present new ideals and new goals to the common man, he is not deliberately substituting Soviet myths for those of capitalism.

Capitalist democracy also has its myths, if we may believe Robert M. MacIver, James Burnham, Thurman W. Arnold, and others. MacIver questions what he considers the greatest myth of all—the myth of the sovereign state. His extensive writings in

¹⁵ Ernst Cassirer, *op cit.*, p. 284

¹⁶ Harold J. Laski, *Faith, Reason, and Civilization* (New York: The Viking Press, 1944), p. 52

sociology and political theory tend to discredit the concept of the all-powerful sovereign state as presented in the political philosophy of Hegel and the jurisprudence of Blackstone.¹⁷

James Burnham doubts whether democracy, as it is generally understood—government by majority—is ever possible. “Popular sovereignty, rule by the people, etc., after all, myths: societies are always ruled in fact by minorities, and will presumably continue to be . . . It is doubtful that the masses of people have ever, here or elsewhere, placed an extremely high valuation on democracy. The immediate effects of democracy are of direct concern, for the most part, to politicians, intellectuals, and the leaders in the various lines of social activity. . . .”¹⁸ These caustic observations, nevertheless, do not deter Burnham from supporting democracy because (1) people can bring pressure on the ruling minority to restrain its tendency toward “tyranny, undue privilege, and extreme exploitation”; (2) democracy permits free inquiry; (3) democracy does not freeze officeholders in power, opportunities are provided for newcomers to politics.¹⁹

Thurman W. Arnold also bluntly characterizes many of the political beliefs cherished by large sections of the American people as folklore and myths. He argues that techniques are important in American democracy rather than enunciated principles and political platforms. The latter are symbols which “become more and more a ceremony and less a matter of belief to those who wrote them.”²⁰

Although he too does not argue against the democratic hypothesis, Arnold nevertheless questions the widespread belief that the best men and the most valid ideas triumph in the politics of democracy. He does not believe that candidates with “sincerity

¹⁷ Robert M. MacIver, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

¹⁸ James Burnham, *Is Democracy Possible?* quoted in Irving DeWitt Talmadge, ed., *Whose Revolution?* (New York: Howell, Soskin, 1911), pp. 190, 202.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 192-93.

²⁰ Thurman W. Arnold, *The Folklore of Capitalism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937), p. 41.

and candor" necessarily win, that right principles, sound arguments, and irrefutable logic overcome lobbies, pressure groups, and political machines.²¹ Even more fundamental, he doubts very much whether the "thinking man" of the democratic society, to whom all political parties address their policies and platforms, is really a thinking man at all. Arnold is inclined to believe that men do not choose their creeds, but rather "become bound by loyalties and enthusiasms to existing organizations."²² Nor does he concede that the United States Supreme Court (a burning issue a decade back) is an impersonal oracle, dispensing justice impartially, and upholding the ideal of a "government of laws" rather than one of "competing opinions of men."²³

Other students of political and social theory advance evidence to support the position that a free press and a free radio must also be classified among the political myths of our social structure. It is not a matter of the abridgment of constitutional rights by the Federal Government nor by any of the state governments, but simply that technological developments "have made it impossible for the press to be owned by any but a small clique of extremely wealthy publisher-industrialists, most of whom hold identical, conservative viewpoints about all the controversial problems facing western civilization."²⁴

The economic sphere also has its myths. Arnold again scoffs at the prevalent belief that the capitalist system is "a set of abstract principles to be followed." To him it is a system of "accepted institutional mythology." Capitalism "is no more descriptive of social organization today than the theology of the monarchy was descriptive before the French Revolution."²⁵ He questions such economic myths as freedom of contract, the sanctity of private

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 70, 383-84

²² *Ibid.*, p. 10

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 61

²⁴ Durward Pruden, "The Myth of Freedom of Press," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, December 1945, p. 249

²⁵ Thurman W. Arnold, *op. cit.*, p. 15

profit, the folly of government spending as against spending by great corporations which allegedly do not waste money; the popular conception that great corporations "*could* be made respectable" by antitrust legislation ²⁶

Significance of Political Myths and Legends for Critical Education

Although legends and myths provide unusual opportunities to further critical thinking, from an educational viewpoint, there are several important obstacles. If every social order is based on myths, as both MacIver and Woodcock assert, a careful analysis of political myths serves to expose the political foundations of *all* social systems. While this may be highly desirable in undermining the ideologies of fascism and communism, an equally critical analysis of the substructure of our own politico-economic system may not be encouraged. School authorities and others are very often far less concerned with truth than with what they consider to be its undesirable consequences.

Equally important, to tackle political myths presupposes a maturity, intellect, and background which many secondary-school and small collegiate students probably do not possess. It is easy to criticize specific articles of faith found in fascist and communist doctrines. But greater insight is required to consider political myths as the basis upon which *all* societies seem to rest, and to understand that social orders in the past, including capitalist democracy, have not functioned without them.

A careful consideration of political myths may, for a time, leave students dazed and bewildered; it may make educators wonder whether such analyses do not necessarily lead to political nihilism. But to raise doubts is one of the most effective techniques for stimulating thinking and for breaking down unreasonable patterns of thought. In the discussions which ensue, the teacher need not have ready answers to the questions raised by MacIver, Burn-

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 262-63, 276, 312, 321

ham, Arnold, Woodcock, and others; nor need he decide whether or not people can ever live entirely without myths

However, he can raise such fundamental questions as these for consideration: (1) Why are political legends and myths found in all social groups? (2) What purpose do they serve? (3) To what extent are they questions of fact and questions of controversy? (4) Are they foisted upon people by propaganda and indoctrination or do they have a more substantial basis? (5) Why do people easily recognize political mythology in other social systems, but rarely acknowledge the mythology underlying their own ideological beliefs? (6) What brings about a change in political legends and myths?

To the extent that the teacher has made students conscious of the role of myths and legends in social systems, he has helped clear away much of the ignorance and confusion underlying political thinking. And even if it cannot be established whether or not people can ever live entirely without myths, there is little doubt that society can live more intelligently with fewer myths. This is one conclusion about myths that mature reflection can help students reach. "It is beyond the power of philosophy to destroy the political myths. A myth is in a sense invulnerable. It is impervious to rational arguments; it cannot be refuted by syllogisms. But philosophy can do us another important service. It can make us understand the adversary. In order to fight an enemy you must know him. That is one of the first principles of a sound strategy" ²⁷

And, finally, as Thurman W. Arnold has wisely noted, "The moment that folklore is recognized to be only folklore it ceases to have the effect of folklore. It descends to the place of poetry or fairy tales which affect us only in our romantic moments" ²⁸

²⁷ Ernst Cassirer, *op cit*, p. 296

²⁸ Thurman W. Arnold, *op cit*, p. 47

THE SOCIOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF AUTONOMOUS GROUPS

Lee Emerson Deets

In 1938 a small group arose spontaneously to explore a need that was sensed by the individuals who formed it. It existed for no other organization, represented no other organization, and was controlled by no other organization. It kept going because the interests that motivated its origin were sufficient to keep it going and because members found the group relationship congenial. Being freed from august responsibility of representing something other than itself or functioning for reasons other than those for which it came into being, it was self-directed and self-evolving, in other words, it was an autonomous group. It was a group free to evolve whatever was implicit in its idea, its membership, and its group relations. Since it was free from institutional controls it was not shunted toward a priori conclusions to which institutions are sometime known to be committed, nor was it "organized" with superimposed "directives."

It so happened that the spontaneous idea, which gave this group unity from within instead of superimposed organization from without, was interest in exploration and facilitation of the autonomous group. Being itself an autonomous group, its unity was derived from processes within itself; natural order replaced organization. In a society characterized by federations of federations and holding companies of holding companies, where lone individuals and lone groups are often lost, this was heresy. In a culture distinguished by mechanical faith in mechanics, this is backsliding. There ought to be a law! Perhaps a certifying agency is needed. This is a notion that the group per se, the group self-determining in and of itself within the law, is of vital importance, and that recognition of the importance of autonomy is implicit in a democratic, rational society.

The sociological *raison d'être* for the organizing principle of the Committee on Autonomous Groups would seem to the writer to

have sprung from a marriage of principles. The creative synthesis is a union of basic principles, one of each being drawn from the polarity which marks the boundaries of social change and social organization. It is assumed that the reader is familiar with the work of Ferdinand Toennies and Emile Durkheim as stimulated by an idea borrowed from Sir Henry Maine. For want of better terminology, the polarities will be designated in the words of Toennies as *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*. The process of change is known to the social scientist as the evolution of the community and society from the type of order which distinguished the early community of neighbors who lived in a type of "primary group," face-to-face relationship to the society of myriad, impersonally related, highly differentiated, specialized groups, for which unifying order is sought through contractualism and organization, usually superimposed. The former was held together by the common will which evolved out of natural processes inherent within itself, the latter, although half-consciously, strives for order through collective will rationally arrived at and planned. But at this point the world and its mechanistic culture "which is so much with us late and soon" leads us into attempted solution of our social problems by exclusive use of "some of the hair of the dog that bit us." If the hierarchical organization with its bureaucracy, organization charts, and channels of authority leads to frustration and sterility, the simple homeopathic treatment is: more superimposed organization!

Autonomous Groups, with a still small voice, is suggesting that perhaps the baby is being thrown out with the bath. We cannot return to the *Gemeinschaft* nor do we wish to do so since the *Gemeinschaft* sacrificed the autonomy of the individual for the unity of the group. However, the importance of the primary group relationship has not of necessity lost its meaning as society has evolved. Its contribution may be an important missing element in the floundering Great Society of Associations. The autonomous group idea in its emphasis upon autonomy cherishes

the concepts of the importance of the individual and the necessity for rational will, while at the same time recognizing the paramount importance of the primary group relationship which has been the "nursery of human nature." The rational autonomy principle implicit in our multigroup society becomes wedded to recognition of the necessity for survival of the primary group relations which were foremost in the solidarity of the past.

Faith in mechanism alone is not enough. Is there a social problem? Pass a law! Plan an organization! Superimpose a social system! Why don't the experts give us a mechanism? These are the words of the worshippers of Prometheus. Meanwhile at the zero hour the beginning of the atomic age revealed its ultimate denouement. The secular faith has been seduced by a mechanical Lorelei.

So back we trudge to where human nature began—the group. No mechanism has yet replaced the family nor is any in sight to replace the primary group itself. Social habits continue to be acquired where relations are most personal. We learn understanding through sympathetic understanding in the areas of social living where it is most possible, namely, in intimate association. On the primary level individuals are never statistical fractions, abstractions in a syllogism, or obscured units in a computation.

Research in this area would include not only the discovery and study of autonomous groups but also the functioning of autonomous primary group relationships and adaptations of them wherever they occur in this "secondary" society. There are various types and some are outstanding for their free, spontaneous creativity. The patterns and processes of the old primary group and *Gemeinschaft* type of order might well be reviewed with a view toward adaptation to modern society where such can be done without sacrificing autonomy, individual growth, and rational development.

Lee Emerson Deets is Professor of Sociology in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Hunter College.

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION MOVEMENTS

Arthur Prinz

While it may be an outworn phrase that human history, from the earliest times down to our days, has largely been a history of migrations, it is of real interest to study the profound changes in the character of international migrations and to consider them in their interrelation with cultural and political developments in general. Naturally, our interest is chiefly devoted to more recent times, especially to the period between the two World Wars.

In both prehistoric and ancient times migrations, as a rule, were mass movements of races, tribes, or similar groups making—and, if necessary, forcing—their way into regions that seemed to offer better opportunities. Though the causes of such migrations were many and some are in need of further elucidation,¹ it may be said with a fair degree of certainty that the most potent factor was the insufficiency of the former habitat to support a fast-growing population. However critically one may be disposed toward Malthusian theories as applied to highly developed societies, the paramount importance of the lack of food as a motive of primitive migrations can hardly be denied. Many scholars, especially Friedrich Ratzel and his followers, have stressed the historical significance of one special type of migration which is to be found over and over again in the most diverse countries. It is the mass movement of warlike desert or mountain tribes into the fertile and densely populated plains usually adjunct to great rivers. Of such incursions there is ample evidence not only in the long history of Egypt, but also of Babylon, India, China, and elsewhere. One of the most characteristic features of these movements is the defeat and subjection of a comparatively highly civilized sedentary community at the hands of primitive, warlike nomads. And here an interesting paradox is to be noted. Politically, of course, the victorious barbarians impose their will—which, at a certain phase of develop-

¹ See Ragnar Numelin, *The Wandering Spirit: A Study of Human Migration* (London: Macmillan and Company, 1937).

ment, often means their constituting themselves as a ruling class over the subjected indigenous masses which they exploit economically, guaranteeing, in exchange, their defense against new invaders. It is to this process that such noted sociologists as Oppenheimer, for example, trace the origin of the state. Agricultural communities by themselves tend to be but loosely organized, although under the vigorous leadership of the new rulers they can be molded into much stronger structure.

In regard to cultural developments, however, things develop very differently indeed. Here it is the victorious invader who begins to appreciate the amenities of a higher stage of civilization and eventually adopts many of the customs and habits of the indigenous population which he formerly used to despise. And as the invaders are far inferior in numbers they chiefly adopt the language of the country, too. So, paradoxically, the victors frequently are assimilated by the vanquished.² It must be stressed, however, that this process is essentially a fortuitous result of circumstances beyond the control and even beyond the vision of either party. It may be that the proud conservatism of such great peoples as the ancient Egyptians who had seen many a wave of invaders come and disappear in their midst did much to assimilate newcomers. But certainly, as long as the individual was generally bound to his group and nearly all migrations were mass movements, the assimilation of newcomers could not become a problem in the eyes of the indigenous population, let alone the aim of a policy.

The great migrations that marked the end of the Roman Empire were obviously true to the type described: barbarian tribes whose numerical strength should not be overestimated³ forced

² One may think of Horace's famous verse: "*Grecia capta ferunt victorem cepit et artes intulit agresti Latio*" (Greece captured her captor and spread her arts to Latium). But of course the Romans were not assimilated, they were only culturally influenced by the Greeks.

³ H. Delbrück, the German historian who is regarded as an authority on military history, estimates the number of warriors in each of these tribes at 6,000 to 15,000.

their way into more densely populated and highly civilized countries, destroying rather than adopting their culture. In the many centuries of the Middle Ages comparatively few great migrations took place within the Occident, in accordance both with the laws and the spirit of feudalism which were unfavorable to dynamism in general and, more especially, attached the serf to the glebe. Among the nobility, however, particularly among the Normans, there stirred a spirit of adventure which led them not only to England, but also to Italy, Spain, and quite a number of other countries. Though the Norman invasion of England cannot be regarded primarily as a migration movement, it presents certain features of great interest. For, on the one hand, the invaders constituted themselves as a ruling class over the subjugated Anglo-Saxons and erected a much stronger political structure than had existed before. In this they were true to the type of victorious invaders. But, on the other hand, the cultural level of the Normans in France was not lower but considerably higher than that of the Anglo-Saxon inhabitants of England and, besides, their influx continued for a long time after the invasion. Chiefly for these two reasons the influence of the conquerors on the general cultural development and on the language was quite extraordinary as against other invasions.

Though the Crusades, that unique historical movement whose main incentive was a religious fervor for the defense of Christendom that found its stirring symbolic expression in the call for the liberation of the Holy Sepulcher, cannot in the first line be classified as a migration movement, they did contain important elements in common with more typical migration movements. Certainly the Crusades, in their different forms and directions, provided an outlet for that chivalrous spirit of adventure which found very little other scope in the static structure of medieval society.

Nothing, perhaps, is more characteristic of both the spirit of

medieval society and the part played in it by the Jews than the fact that they alone, throughout that epoch, were nearly always permitted and often compelled to emigrate. Living in many countries in and beyond Europe, their small communities were never regarded as part and parcel of the general population, but always as a people apart—as outsiders and sometimes as outcasts. While a very great, though slowly diminishing, part of the indigenous population was legally bound to the soil, the Jews were legally separated from it as they were forbidden to acquire real estate. As expert dealers in mobile property, especially in moneys, they were sometimes invited into countries for economic reasons, only to be expelled again when the stopgaps could be discarded or when religious zeal outweighed economic considerations. The problem of assimilation, today so many-sided and difficult, in that epoch boiled down to one demand: baptism. The supreme importance attributed to religion as the foundation of all culture made it impossible to belong to the national community without sharing its creed, as, on the other hand, a Jew embracing Christianity was unquestioningly accepted as a member of the general community unless there be some doubt regarding the sincerity of his conversion. Nothing else mattered. For the Jews emigration often provided the only alternative to baptism.

But if few migrations may be said to have taken place within medieval Europe, it must not be forgotten that the Christian world was endangered by great invasions of foreign races as the Avars, the Arabs, Tartars, Mongols, and Turks. While most of these were forced mass movements of rather primitive races or tribes in quest of new land and therefore fundamentally corresponded to the old type of migration, the Arab invasion of the Iberian peninsula is of somewhat greater interest because of the high cultural level of the invaders and the lasting effects of their occupation on the culture and language of Spain.

A new epoch in migration in world history commenced with

the great geographical discoveries which opened to the peoples of Europe vast and rich continents. The decisive difference between the old migrations and the new type was that, instead of tribes or races, *now individuals, families, or small groups migrated*. On the other hand, even in the period we are now considering—from the discovery of America to the end of the Napoleonic wars in Europe and the end of Spanish rule in most countries of Central and South America—most migrations still shared important features with the old type. While the motives of these migrations are so manifold that it seems impossible to find a common denominator, their methods show a marked resemblance. Whether the driving power was greed for gold mixed more or less with religious zeal to convert the heathen and extend the realm of Christianity, or the indomitable will of men not to submit to religious oppression and to obey only their own conscience, nearly always force or ruse was employed against the native population, regardless of whether the new countries were densely or sparsely inhabited, whether the natives were primitive or highly cultured. The fate of the North American tribes or the native civilizations in Central and South America need not be dwelt upon.

As far as immigration restrictions and an immigration policy existed, it was the government of the home country that formed them, bearing in mind almost solely its own political, economic, and religious aims. The interests of the white overseas population were decidedly a minor consideration, while the welfare of the natives hardly mattered at all. Jealously guarding its own colonies against foreign intruders—for example, the Spanish government controlled the emigration of its own nationals at both ends—people whose presence in the mother country was unnecessary or even undesirable were permitted, if not compelled, to leave while certain other categories were encouraged to sail, as, for example, miners who were urgently needed overseas. On the whole, emigration was both restricted and directed, partly for fear that too

numerous a white population might revolt against the oppression from the mother country and fight for independence

For a number of reasons the first quarter of the nineteenth century marks one of the greatest turning points in the history of migration. On one side of the Atlantic the end of the Napoleonic wars left great parts of Europe impoverished and exhausted, a condition naturally favorable to large-scale emigration. Further, the quite extraordinary increase in the population of nearly all European countries during the nineteenth century made unheard-of masses available for overseas colonization. Finally, most European governments adopted a liberal policy of nonintervention in the emigration question in accordance with the new theories of Adam Smith, Robert Malthus, and others who had superseded mercantilists. On the other side of the Atlantic, however, the change was even more profound. About forty years after the Declaration of Independence great South American countries—for example, Argentina in 1816—broke loose from the Spanish rule to declare themselves independent republics. In view of their vast and still very thinly populated countries and inspired by the new notions that had come from the United States, France, and England, they, too, adopted a policy of *laissez-passer*. And in the century from 1815 to the beginning of the First World War immigration—at least for Europeans—was virtually unfettered in all the republics of the Americas. We need not dwell upon the enormous improvements in the means of transportation and all the other causes that made transatlantic migrations increase by leaps and bounds, especially after such events as the Irish potato famine and the revolutions of 1848, until at last they reached truly amazing proportions. Between 1901 and 1905 an average of almost one million Europeans annually emigrated to the four most important overseas countries (United States, Canada, Brazil, and Argentina), and the following five years brought this figure to 1.4 million Europeans, of whom the United States, of course, received the lion's share. Never since have such figures been reached

But the actual extent of this migration, stupendous though it was, does not appear as the most remarkable feature. Even more impressive in our days of disillusionment is the spirit of boundless liberalism and optimism by which both the United States and the Latin-American republics were imbued and guided in their attitude toward immigration and assimilation. For a long time even in the United States the idea prevailed that it did not really matter overmuch from which country the newcomer hailed as the American environment with its opportunities, the excellence of its Constitution and free institutions, and, last but not least, the effects of intermarriage would surely suffice to do the job and build a great nation out of the heterogeneous arrivals. An even more optimistic and cosmopolitan faith is classically expressed in the Argentinian constitution of 1853 which contains an appeal and a promise to all the inhabitants of the world desiring to live in Argentina and assures them of the right to enter, stay, or leave as they may please. The constitution specifically enjoins the government to encourage European immigration. It is the same spirit as that expressed in the famous inscription on the Statue of Liberty.

It was only toward the end of the nineteenth century that in the United States the great disillusionment about the pitfalls and problems of assimilation seriously began. In California, it is true, the agitation against Chinese immigration had started much earlier, but not before 1882 had it resulted in the Chinese Exclusion Act passed by the Federal Government. White immigration remained virtually free for more than one generation, though the idea of the absolutely reliable efficacy of the "melting pot" gradually lost its sway over public opinion. Owing to changed economic conditions, such as the exhaustion of the free land, but even more in view of the vast urban agglomerations of the "new immigration" from southern and eastern Europe which in religion, language, culture, and race was so much stranger than the "old immigration" of northern and western Europeans, not only the

expediency of immigration restrictions was discussed, but the causes, effects, and limits of assimilation were for the first time studied both empirically and theoretically.

The First World War ended the era of liberalism, in migration policy as well as in many other aspects. American opinion was shocked at the revelation of fierce alien loyalties, not only among the multilingual crowds of the "new immigration," but even among the seemingly much more assimilated Irish and German population. Powerful economic interests had long fought for immigration restrictions. But now the whole country was roused to the danger of losing its national unity both in a cultural and a political sense. After the Literacy Test of 1917 the laws of 1921 and 1924 were enacted, the last of which is still in force. We need not enter into the details of these acts, let alone the dubious bases of the quota figures. But the twofold aim of the new policy—severely to reduce the bulk of immigration and at the same time to increase the percentage of northern and western European and particularly English-speaking immigrants—was, on the whole, achieved. The total quota immigration admitted under the Act of 1929 equaled only 15 to 16 per cent of the vast numbers that had streamed to the United States in the last prewar years. In this way America gained time to "digest" the many millions of first-generation immigrants who often lived in the country without adopting its language, its ideas, or ways of life. For such adult immigrants the Americanization movement created schools which not only taught them English but gave them educational service for individual and family adjustment and preparation for naturalization and citizenship. Regarding the ultimate aims of Americanization and assimilation, two different schools of thought developed: one aiming at the assimilation of the whole population to one standard type conceived after the image of the original Anglo-Saxon settlers; the other deeming it neither possible nor right to achieve such a complete standardization. Instead of inducing the

children of immigrants to despise their un-American parents and to break with the past of their group, the champions of "cultural pluralism" prefer to encourage the new generation to blend the best cultural heritage of their own group with the living ideals of American democracy as taught in those common, free, nonsectarian, and State-controlled public schools that are probably the greatest instruments in nation making.

Whereas America, owing to her power, wealth, geographical position, and numerous population, could work out her own destiny without fear of foreign pressure, other immigration countries were less fortunate. The American quota legislation had forced the greatest part of European emigration into new channels. Latin-American countries, profoundly influenced by the example of the great sister republic, wanted to restrict their own immigration, too, to elements kindred in race, language, and religion, which practically meant immigration from the Iberian peninsula and, above all, from Italy with its teeming population and its large prewar emigration. But, on the one hand, the vast underpopulated countries for economic reasons needed large-scale immigration, and, on the other hand, their political weakness made them fear the dangers any sizable immigration in the post-war period was able to entail. One of the most unexpected consequences of the new conceptions about the international protection of minorities was that all weaker states were obsessed by the fear of international intervention in what they regarded as internal affairs, and they avoided anything that might lead to the formation of a national minority on their soil. Were there not considerable German settlements in South Brazil and Chile, complete with their own schools, and so forth, and similarly those of other nationalities? They seemed now more dangerous than ever before! But even apart from this fear of minorities complaining to the League of Nations, there were other dangers which, at least in the case of Italian immigration, proved to be more real: the danger

that the emigration country might systematically try to prevent the assimilation and integration of the immigrant in the new country and to keep him under its own tutelage and supervision. The many legal and administrative measures that were taken in various South American countries to hasten assimilation and naturalization and to restrict the influence of foreigners and indigenous minorities were partly the result of their own growing nationalism, and were partly due to the realization of dangers inherent in the countries' weakness.

In many respects the situation of France—in the postwar period one of the greatest immigration countries in the world—was even more precarious than that just described. Having lost two million dead on the battlefield and suffered the devastations of whole provinces, France was in urgent need of large-scale immigration, but at the same time afraid of its dangers. For many reasons immigration from Italy seemed the easiest and most natural solution, the Italian neighbors being in race, language, religion, and culture very close to the French and having an abundance of man power. While whole colonies of Polish miners, complete with their own priests and teachers, were brought to the devastated regions in the Northeast, Italians came in very large numbers mostly to take up agricultural work in the Southeast. The French Government, fully aware of its demographic weakness, did its utmost to convert as many as possible of these foreigners into French citizens without bothering overmuch about their true loyalties. In 1927 a law was published which greatly facilitated the acquisition of French citizenship and declared all children born in France to foreign parents future French citizens, insisting on the *ius soli* just as the South American states did. But this led to a violent clash with Italy, which we can only understand after a short consideration of Italian emigration policy.

By the time the era of liberalism had ended in the immigration countries, two European states, which before the war had lost many millions of their nationals through emigration, adopted

totalitarian systems—Russia and Italy. While Soviet Russia, characteristically enough, forbade emigration altogether,¹ Fascist Italy, though at heart just as unwilling to waive her claim to any individual, could not dispense with emigration because of her overpopulation. Fascism therefore tried by all means to convert Italian emigration into an instrument of political expansion. The main principle of this policy was the indefinite preservation of the Italian character (*Italianità*) and nationality of the emigrant whose work abroad had to serve the interest of the Fascist state. The means of this policy naturally varied with time and circumstances; on the whole, however, the following features were characteristic. Emigration under Fascism was by no means free; the government issued or withheld emigration passports according to its own economic and political needs, while certain categories of persons usually received passports and others were forbidden to leave. Further, the government determined the destination of the emigrant. It was one of the aims of Italian emigration policy to create solid Italian blocks in Tunisia and southeastern France, in support of its claims for a revision of the territorial frontier both in Europe and Africa. But if the emigrant and his progeny were indefinitely to preserve their Italian nationality, Mussolini obviously would not recognize the *ius soli* giving a child the nationality of its birth country. On this point, Fascist claims clashed with those of France as well as of the South American states. But France was in a weaker position than the overseas countries. The Fascist Government, for example, could and did order expectant mothers in France who were near their confinement to return to Italy so that the children might be Italians. But they could obviously not return from South America. In general, France was compelled to give in on many points on which the Latin-American states fully stood

¹ At certain times, in the twenties, emigration passports were issued in individual cases, especially to elderly people with relatives abroad, on condition that a considerable sum was paid in foreign currency.

their ground, especially in the fall of 1927 at the Interparliamentarian Conference in Rio de Janeiro

But in order to realize the full extent of Fascist ambitions in emigration policy, we must consider the measures—either actually taken or prepared for use—to prevent any assimilation of the Italians abroad. Apart from exceptional cases, there was not to be any emigration of isolated individuals. Italian settlements with Italian priests, teachers, Fascist secretaries, and credit institutes under the supervision and even under the jurisdiction of the Italian consulates—such was the ideal of Fascist emigration policy. Certainly one of its most effective measures in preventing assimilation was the Italian school system which, after Giovanni Gentile had reformed it in 1923, would teach youth to worship the Fascist state and despise democracy. Working in close co-ordination with the Catholic Church on one side and with such Fascist youth organizations as *Balilla* on the other, Italian teachers certainly would prevent the growth of any loyalty to the immigration country in the hearts of the young generation.

The South American states refused all demands that were inconsistent with their sovereignty. Mussolini, thereupon, sharply restricted Italian emigration to South America causing thereby severe economic hardships.

Shortly afterwards, in the fall of 1929, the world economic crisis began, hitting first the great food- and raw-material producing countries. Immigration restrictions spread like wildfire, as no country wanted to increase the number of its unemployed. Since then we have not had one single year of normal migration. Political developments have replaced the emigrants who seek a better lot in a new country with refugees and displaced persons fleeing for their lives.

When real peace returns it will be time to lay the foundations for an international migration policy.

Arthur Prins was formerly a professor of political economy in Germany

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EDITORIAL

Hilda Taba

Public school is one of the most promising laboratories for improving human relations. It is a society in which young people spend a considerable portion of time every day for a large part of their lives. By and large, the public school gathers under its roof a greater variety of people than does any other single social institution. It has the children of all people and at their most malleable period. In addition to what school can teach *about* group relations in its instructional program, it has at its disposal a way of living, a social atmosphere, a way of conducting its own affairs, and even a way of symbolizing and ritualizing what it stands for.

School life can be a rich soil for developing the attitudes, skills, and habits essential to adequate group living now and later. If this collective life is planned with an eye on what young people learn about ways of living and working together, this life can be a powerful aid in motivating for participation in life, for equipping young people with a range of skills and disposition needed for living in a cosmopolitan world. If not, there are apt to be inconsistencies in what is taught directly about human relations, and what is learned indirectly from the way of life in school. Pressures

and conflicts are likely to exist which distort the social growth and perpetuate the negative learnings from the surrounding community.

The Project of Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools, sponsored by the American Council and financed by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, saw the important role that living in school played in what young people learned about group living.

Among the hundred odd program-building and study projects undertaken in the eighteen co-operating school systems, many concentrated on studying the patterns of interpersonal association and of participation in school life. In many others, the object was to develop a greater consistency between what was taught about leadership, citizenship, and democracy, and what the children and young people learned from their clubs, student government, in lunchrooms, and corridors, and from the ways teachers treated them. In some schools it was possible to experiment with the reorganization of a considerable portion of school arrangements and even to witness the changes in the social atmosphere of the school as well as in the attitudes of the students.

We found many things. By and large, participation in school life, hence in such opportunities for training as it afforded, was limited, and the limitations fell most heavily on those groups of children whose parents were in minority roles in the community—either because of their cultural, racial, or economic backgrounds. We found that in many cases the social learnings acquired from the ways of living in school were inconsistent with the aims of the school or with its direct teachings about democracy and human relations. We found that in many cases, especially where cultural diversity existed, pressures on children were often harsh. But we found also that a cosmopolitan composition—usually referred to as lack of homogeneity—was of advantage rather than of disadvantage in programs of human relations. If such a cosmopolitan

population is not made into a series of isolated pockets by special grouping devices, and if students are grouped in ways that permit them to complement each other's talents and needs, a heterogeneity in composition becomes a fruitful laboratory for learning. With some aid in techniques of analysis, in methods of studying, and in ways of planning, school groups, teachers, students, and parents alike not only were eager to change, but also could develop plans for more adequate ways of living and working together.

The articles in this issue of *THE JOURNAL* are reports of the staff of the Project of Intergroup Education on some aspects of the work. Two of these articles—"The School Culture and Educational Planning," "Education for Leadership"—deal with general issues and problems. Others—"Students and Faculty Work to Improve Life in School," "Sororities and the School Culture"—describe tangible programs. Still others—"Studying the Child's Social World," and "Using Children's Social Relations for Learning"—discuss certain methods useful in studying the situation before proceeding with planning.

Dr. Hilda Taba is Director of Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools, American Council on Education, 437 West 59th Street, New York 19, New York. The contributors to this issue are staff members of this project.

THE SCHOOL CULTURE AND EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

John T. Robinson and Elizabeth H. Brady

Most educators accept uncritically that school is life. When they disapprove of certain situations or see no way of changing them, they explain them away by saying, "That's the way it is in life," or "The children learn that from their parents." The implication is that school cannot determine what social learning goes on in it, or that it cannot change in what it teaches about social behavior. Yet

school not only transmits the cultures around it, it also exposes children to its own unique culture. In all schools, certain rituals, controls, and customs can be identified, each reinforced by powerful symbols. Every school operates through a definite organizational structure which is linked to a system of prestige and privilege and thereby teaches that system. To a significant degree, the school society determines how its members behave and what they learn. Originally, the school culture prevalent today evolved as a by-product of a program designed for academic training for a select few; it has changed very little. Therefore it is not adapted to the needs of its present population—much more heterogeneous in background and diversified in life interests¹ Nor does it usually reflect the modern conception of education that includes social development in its aims. Since children learn from the school society much of what society is like, and how to fit into it, teachers in their educational planning should take into account what the school culture is and what children learn from it.

Who Is Important Around Here?

In every school some people are more important than others; some can do things that others cannot do; some have more authority and swing more weight. These are the indications of who has prestige and privilege. In any social group, such persons influence and maintain the pattern of behavior for everybody else; they draw some people into activities and keep others out.

Teachers control a large part of the status system in school. It is they who determine who is, and who is not, eligible for class office, club membership, or service on the student council, they who administer the arrangements for rewards and punishments, grades, recognition, and promotion; and they who see that certain students get important positions by circulating their names and building up their reputations. For most teachers, the prime quali-

¹ See W. Lloyd Warner, Robert G. Havighurst, and Martin B. Loeb, *Who Shall Be Educated?* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944)

fication for mobility is academic achievement. Being a good reader or getting high marks in arithmetic and application to schoolwork bring prestige with teachers as nothing else can. Such traits as neatness, punctuality, or interest in study also stand high.

But the fact that teacher values are officially in control does not mean necessarily that they are being accepted by all children. Some students may fall in with them entirely, of course, and consider them good and right whether they themselves are able to profit from them or not. Others catch on and use the system for their own ends. As one ninth grader put it, "If I knew in seventh grade what I know now, I could run this place!" But there may also be completely different values operating among most of the boys and girls. Even some who outwardly conform and give lip service to the system may really look up to individuals on a very different basis. The result is that behavior for which teachers give rewards can make for loss of esteem from classmates.

In whichever way the student responds to the system, he is learning a role in relation to the prestige setup and learning values related to the status system as he understands it. Both the role and values thus learned may affect his thinking and behavior both in and out of school. Finally some girls and boys will gain status—with their teachers, their peers, or both—because of personal warmth in relations with others. This quality has not been defined and it may vary from one situation to the next. However, where it is a real factor, it is generally rewarded regardless of the usual criterion for acceptance. Thus, in any school society nowadays, there is a constant struggle going on, more or less overtly according to circumstances, for supremacy of the values that shall really control group life.

What Must You Do?

In school, as in any other culture, everyone is expected to do certain things and is censured or punished for doing other things. Administrators and teachers make many of the rules and set up

the taboos. By virtue of being older and the givers of rewards, they can enforce even unwelcome regulations. Local tradition fixes other controls. Even when personnel and situations change, old rules may remain in effect or new ones be made in the old context. They continue to be accepted as right and reasonable long after the rationale for them has disappeared or been forgotten. The responsibility for carrying out these controls falls on both teachers and children without regard to their share in establishing them or to their recognition of the importance of having them. It should not come as a surprise, accordingly, to hear fourth graders say that they have a student council "to help the principal run the school, and make the kids keep their lines at the fountain, and be good."

The rules function around certain types of behavior, such as "honesty and telling the truth," "responsibility," "willingness to co-operate," and "showing respect." Both teachers and students may subscribe to particular regulations and standards, in this connection, without ever having thought through the implications. For example, in most schools there is an absolute taboo against cribbing, copying, and cheating of all kinds. Furthermore, students are expected to acknowledge any infringement of a rule when questioned by teachers, even when the inquiry extends into the student's private life. This is what is meant by "telling the truth." At the same time, most children have among themselves a strict code against "telling on someone else" who is a member of their group. A girl in the tenth grade wanted to know what she should do when the teacher asks for information about the cheating in mathematics class, even if "you didn't do it, and weren't in on it, but know all about it?" She summed up her dilemma by saying, "After all, he is a teacher, but if you do tell, what will the kids think?" When telling a teacher carries unexpected consequences, the students learn not to tell teachers anything rather than learn to tell the truth.

In this instance there was clearly a conflict between the teacher's standard of honesty and the girls' desire for group approval. Sometimes a similar conflict develops from misunderstanding or different viewpoints. For instance, while teachers usually mean by "showing respect" a particular set of compliant attitudes and deferential gestures exhibited toward themselves, a child may think he is showing respect when he lets a person know he likes and trusts him. Thus, teachers may insist on being addressed as Miss Jones or Mr Brown rather than by a nickname, and may expect a child to give full attention to any adult who speaks to him without ever interrupting, contradicting, or disagreeing; but some child may think he is paying a grown-up the highest compliment when he joshes with him in familiar conversation. If the teacher accuses him of being "disrespectful and sassy," such a child may be bewildered and learn not to show people in authority that he likes them.

Often regulations conflict, either because they have been derived separately rather than from a single educational pattern, or because they are interpreted differently by different teachers. A child who never learned to march in line in his old school or classroom may be severely reprimanded for failure to do so in a new classroom or a different part of the building. Or, again, a child who has been taught to share his books and discuss ideas informally in one grade may be scolded or punished for continuing to do so in another grade. Such conflicting rules, divorced from purpose, may teach that rules are to be obeyed for no other reason than to satisfy someone's whim.

How Do Things Get Done?

In every school certain arrangements have become more or less sacred and beyond criticism. These include the classification of the student body and control of relations among the subdivisions, the assignment of individuals to their groups, and the routine

through which the school carries on its work. Children are always organized into classes according to one or more hierarchial schemes: some will have older, advanced, or "brighter" children and others, younger or "slower" or less advanced. Each of these groupings acquires certain positions in prestige value. Thus, college-preparatory work is rated above commercial courses in high school, or a fast-reading group above a slow one in the elementary grades. Worse yet, children from homes where English is not spoken, from lower-class families, or from otherwise culturally disadvantaged groups usually are found in the vocational or shop courses while the children of professional people often are accepted as "college material" without further investigation.

Although these arrangements were usually instituted without regard to the social learnings resulting from them, it is clear that many children learn that it is better to be older, to be a fast reader, to be going to college, and that the people who do not have those abilities are younger or slower, or are in "shopwork" are not as good. Children with high I.Q. scores, or whose outward compliance may have been mistaken for exceptional intelligence, tend to be placed in positions of responsibility and leadership, while others have little chance to be important or have a share in running the affairs of the school.

Offices, membership in prestige activities and organizations, and assignments to influential positions often go to a privileged few. They are rarely distributed so as to give everyone a chance to learn how to function in these respects, to use what skills he may have, or to satisfy his interests and desires for companionship. Teachers are often the victims of such conditions as much as some of the students. Analysis of the membership of teacher committees and inquiry into what jobs are assigned to which teachers, or who has the ear of the administration, will establish the truth of this claim in many educational institutions.

But schools differ significantly, one from another, with respect

to the ease with which people can move according to their competence and preference. In some buildings the structure works by fiat from the top down and each person's behavior is conditioned by his position and rank. In others, communication may be a two-way process within certain limits; the heads of departments may sit down and plan with the administration, for instance, and in some cases the classroom teachers may likewise be included. However, it is not usual to ask students to join the faculty deliberations. But there are a few schools that keep all channels of communication and action continuously open, so that different people are brought together in varying relations to work on different problems, and the chance to function as a person or in a group is conditioned solely by what you have to contribute.

In a good many schools business is not really carried on through the official channels at all. If the structure is unwieldy or if an individual is unwilling to comply with it, it is often possible to go outside and around the setup to get what you want. Thus, a teacher may go directly to the principal with a private request for extra time or a special class, and this request may be acted upon without the slightest regard to the effect on other teachers; or, a student club may override or ignore a decision of the student council and appeal to its faculty sponsor or the principal for some privilege which is not accorded to other clubs. Sometimes indeed, as is true of certain sororities and fraternities, groups go underground when they seek ends not taken into account by school policy. Too often, the net result is acquiring the notion that "the wheel that squeaks the loudest is the wheel that gets the grease."

When administrative arrangements are sometimes put into effect purely in the interests of convenience and efficiency, this policy may have unexpected and undesirable by-products. Any social structure has a clear effect on interpersonal relations and the general working atmosphere within the group it serves. Schools

need accordingly to find out who is learning what about social behavior on account of their regulations.

What Difference Does It Make?

There is, then, much confusion of values and standards in most school societies at the present time. Some of it results from differences in viewpoint or in expectation as between the school and its surrounding culture, between different sections of the larger community, between different groups of children, between teachers and students, between teachers at different grade levels, or between the administration and the rest of the faculty. Some of it results from the school's failure to implement its goals or to realize the social implications of its practices. The belief that everyone should have a part in deciding issues that affect him is denied, for example, whenever teachers "sell" a program to the student council for them, in turn, to "sell" to the student body. The program may have been just as undemocratically put over on the faculty, in the first place, by the administration or the city office.

Within this maze of divergent expectations, each child is learning selectively. He is learning how to make a place for himself and how to keep himself in that position once he gets there. He is learning a great deal about social behavior and what to expect of society. He is learning either that people count for something or that they do not; either that the official goals bring rewards or that they do not, either that democratic action can function to improve group life or that the system must be bucked and manipulated or that there is nothing an individual can do about it, and he is learning either that everyone in society can be an active citizen or that some are automatically dispossessed and left out. Perhaps the most distressing consequence may be that some children learn to accept a social system inadequate for its members not only as inevitable but also as right.

Surely the school has a stake in this issue! Children could be taught by convincing experience that members of a society can determine their goals together, in the full light of all contributions, and then work together to put those goals into practice. They could learn the satisfactions of joint action so that they might become increasingly disposed to exert themselves in their own behalf and in behalf of their classmates. Teachers could learn exactly the same social truths. For this to come about it would be necessary for all members of the school society—administrators, classroom teachers, and students—to work together toward aims and objectives in which all have had an appropriate share. This means that the channels of participation must be kept open and that newcomers and the young must be inducted gradually into methods of using them. Classroom procedure must be seen as the first training ground for that democracy that must be made to function throughout the school—and eventually in the larger community. But all of this means recognizing the existence and nature of the school culture and adapting it to serve the desired educational goals.

EDUCATION FOR LEADERSHIP

Elizabeth H. Brady

Programs in group relations inevitably raise the question of training for leadership. Most teachers active in group relations programs become uneasily aware that their practices are not wholly consistent either with their standards of democracy or with their ideas about healthy group relations. Yet they are beset with many difficulties in trying to remedy the situation.

Sources of Misunderstanding

Much of the present difficulty stems from the confusion over what leadership is and how it functions. Since many school practices which affect the social association of students in school have not been directly and explicitly set up for the purpose of improving group relations and developing skills in them, the definitions of leadership which have grown out of these situations tend to be confusing and often conflict with the essentials of democratic ideas about how groups or individuals function in interrelationship.

Most definitions of leadership carry with them a "top-man idea," frequently associated with exercising control over others or filling positions of authority. This definition limits who can exercise leadership and thereby freezes the prestige status of certain few children, instead of educating many children to carry a variety of leadership roles. It also obscures the concept of leadership as a function which emerges in the course of group interaction when the individual has the capacity to help in some particular way to move toward what the group wants, not because he can exert authority. This latter leadership releases the energies of all group members for group ends, rather than personal ends, and utilizes the particular skills, interests, and capacities of all the members. Such a leader is concerned with every individual in the group more than with maintaining his position or demonstrating his authority.

Another favorite definition of leadership describes leadership vaguely as a mysterious quality which some individuals "naturally" have and others do not have.

When leadership is thought of as the natural attribute of certain children, to be exercised in any and all situations, it is natural to assume that adequate preparation is being provided as soon as the "right" children have been allocated important offices and jobs

Under these conditions students representing favored economic position or social status or the cultural majority in the community (preferably all three) tend to be and to be thought of as leaders, while those from lower income groups or families of "foreign" background usually are not. The inevitable consequence is that the students who, by virtue of their home background, are not "cut out" for leadership, are deprived of chances to learn to be leaders.

The identification of academic achievement or the I.Q. score as a gauge of leadership has been a second source of confusion. In many schools, children of "superior intelligence" get positions of authority on the playground, major offices in organizations, and lead roles in various activities regardless of their ability to fill these roles, and in spite of the fact that there is no demonstrable correlation between academic achievement and the capacity to release and guide the energies of a group. In such cases, leadership functions—whether taking responsibility for certain jobs or holding positions in school—become in essence rewards for academic accomplishments. Thus, students win positions in the Student Council because they do well in English, and children are assigned to water plants because they are good readers, rather than because they can do these jobs well or need the training.

School practices are handicapped in several ways by these confusions and false assumptions. First, they play havoc with the development of appropriate criteria for selecting people for jobs, for leadership in activities, and for offices. Criteria tend to become arbitrary, irrelevant, or even contradictory to the avowed purposes of the activities. Thus, in some schools, leadership positions become reserved only for boys; in others, to the highest grade in school or to people with the best marks. Neither the needs for developing skills for acting in groups, nor the special abilities necessary for exercising leadership in groups can be adequately considered under these circumstances.

Second, they perpetuate stereotypes about what is involved in carrying on certain positions in groups and have failed to stimulate a more searching analysis of the functions and abilities necessary in filling certain roles. For example, chairing a meeting according to Robert's Rules of Order and taking minutes of the meetings have sometimes become the sole ingredients of job qualifications for the student body president and secretary. The ability to smooth out interpersonal relations, to foster participation, to make newcomers feel welcome, to get students to talk and articulate their wishes, and a host of other skills in human relations not only are not considered in choices but do not seem to be considered functions of the jobs.

Third, they tend to make the "democratic elections," wherever they exist, somewhat of a farce. Even when students can choose their own leaders—as in the case with the grade, class, or school-wide offices—they are making arbitrary choices because they have not been helped to analyze what the job entails. They cannot match up the right person to the right job because they use arbitrary criteria, such as academic ability, or popularity, or because they have not had a chance to know enough about the people they are choosing.

Fourth, the concept of activities in which students can exercise leadership—like the functions of leadership—has been so narrowed down as to offer little training in skills needed for group participation and group action. The bulk of "leadership" roles are taken up with managerial and disciplinary functions, such as patrolling the hall, keeping others from whispering, picking up paper, keeping others from fighting on the playground, collecting money, and conducting meetings for carrying out whatever business has been approved by the teachers. Rarely are children given practice in the whole chain of group action in planning together, reaching group decisions, carrying them out. There are still fewer opportunities for children to make known their own wishes and concerns

Practically no emphasis is put on training in analysis of their own group procedures.

Good Intentions Gone Astray

The failure to extend training in group living and in a variety of leadership functions to all children has disturbed many a school working on human relations programs. They have tried in various ways to remedy the situation and to make it more democratic. One such attempt is to see that more people get included in prestige jobs by passing these jobs around so that "everyone will have a chance." As one school faculty put it:

We are now working away from the top-man idea of leadership We found we were tending to use the more capable children for jobs to be done and for officers, and were in some instances guiding toward such choice in student elections. We saw how this was hampering wide participation by group members as a whole.

In such cases, the attempt to distribute chances may lead to each child being given the opportunity to be chairman, president, or monitor, regardless of personal qualifications or related experience. Regular elections are instituted, but no child is allowed to be nominated or elected twice as long as some children have never held office at all. The practical outcome is that already identified leaders are usually chosen first, as long as the list holds out; then others are chosen whom no one particularly wants, simply because it is their turn. These *unwanted* leaders may not find the given position one in which they can function effectively, and, not commanding the co-operation and respect of their fellows, do not gain recognition for being able to function well. Like the leaders selected by teachers, they have been artificially imposed and their positions granted as concessions to an abstract idea. The true leadership, in such cases, usually continues to be exercised by another child. It is clear that not every child will find the same positions most fruitful for interacting with others or leading out.

In other cases, this "democracy" provides for the choice of leaders, but does not extend to members choosing to work together as the groups which these "leaders" are to lead. In one school, where the eighth grade was to be organized into a series of girls' clubs as an antidote for sororities, all girls were asked to vote for those whom they considered "the best leaders." The twelve girls receiving the highest number of votes were then appointed to head up twelve clubs. Groups were composed of a number of girls choosing to be with the same leader; the composition of groups did not take into account what girls wanted to be with other girls as fellow members. The result was that some elected leaders found themselves with a group whom they could not effectively serve because of the lack of interrelations between members. Other girls who might have proved excellent leaders, emerging from a group who had chosen to be with each other, lost out in the class-wide competition. Cliques were promoted around particular personalities. Choice of leadership in the abstract in this case simply failed to take into account leadership as a function emerging in relation to a particular group and particular activity.

A third type of miscarriage of democratic procedure occurs when schools follow certain aspects of representative government without carrying it through on all its essential functions. Often students elected by their classmates are afterwards accountable only to teacher or faculty sponsors. The chosen representative is assigned to do things desired by someone other than his constituents, who in turn do not know or use channels for informing him what they would like, and he is checked on by someone else. Once this procedure is firmly established, student elections can become entirely meaningless. Often real leaders for the group will not accept nominations because these anomalous roles are distasteful to them.

What Are the Consequences?

The way leadership positions are managed in school determines who gets a chance to be leaders, what concepts and skills all the

children learn about functioning in groups, and how children feel about themselves and others.

The top-man idea of leading and of such arbitrary or irrelevant criteria for elections to jobs as academic ability and popularity conspire to narrow down the opportunities available for training in participation or leadership in group situations. A limited number of students (not more than twenty per cent in any school where participation patterns were investigated) are permitted—they are even urged—to usurp all available chances in leadership.

Children tend to absorb whatever concepts are implied by the situation. A group leadership pattern which assumes leadership as an exclusive attribute of certain individuals teaches many children never to exert initiative or accept responsibility. The use of irrelevant criteria for selecting school officers teaches them to think it natural and fitting that public office should be a reward for unrelated achievement or for social prestige.

When democratic procedures have been merely superimposed on autocratic situations, in that goals and officeholders are essentially predetermined, children may decide that it is sufficient to go along with democratic ritual while continuing to operate undemocratically in real group situations by enforcing their own ends and ignoring preferences of others. They may learn to regard leaders as figureheads only, and acquiesce in control through persons whom the electors never see. They thus develop a disposition towards government by outsiders and forego exercising initiative in policy building and acting.

They may get the idea that they have no right to be agents in their own behalf. Even if they are themselves elected to office, they may not take the position seriously. Such was the case with one fifth-grade student who had been made a member of the student council. She failed to attend meetings and explained that they were dull and uninteresting. She had no concept of her role as representative of her classmates.

A further result is to accept the narrow concept of leadership as the exercise of authority. This definition reinforces the predisposition to accept procedures that have little bearing on the concerns, rights, and preferences of all persons in the group. It develops in some individuals "bossy" ways of carrying out their responsibility when they have occasion to lead groups outside of school. Thus, some children may acquire inflated notions about themselves while others are withdrawing or burdening themselves with feelings of inferiority. Some learn to hang on to those positions that guarantee them their unwarranted sense of superiority; others are getting the fixed idea that no member of their racial background or economic status could ever hold office or legitimately expect his interests to become a group concern. A serious consequence that is often overlooked is that the apparently privileged children who hold all the offices never develop the skills in interpersonal contacts which the other children exercise.

This inadequate understanding of what actually is involved in group action situations leads to blaming the people involved in case of failures, when processes or lack of know-how may have been responsible. If students fail to organize a dance properly the first time they have been given the opportunity, their teachers are apt to conclude that they are incompetent or indifferent. If the girls and boys happen to be members of some minority group, this idea of their inferiority may stick very hard. In a particular classroom, a girl led the planning discussion in such a way as to antagonize her classmates. She was removed from office and lectured by the teacher on doing better next time. After such treatment, this girl—like the boy who complained that the class would not cooperate after electing him—may conclude either that the others were mean or no good, or else that she herself is socially inadequate. Neither the ineffective leader nor the other children will have learned much about group situations and how to handle them.

What the Schools Can Do

If schools want to improve leadership training they will wish to think more than has usually been the case about the implications of group procedure. They need to develop concepts of leadership which will include concern for good human relations. There will then be as much emphasis on training for participation and exchange as on education for the ability to release energies and guide genuine thinking in groups. They will recognize that all members of a group should exercise initiative and carry responsibilities, and that therefore a variety of roles in a variety of situations need to be provided. The child who can make newcomers feel at home by drawing them into games on the playground, or who can get the student council to think about the problems of freshmen on first entering high school, is just as needed by the group as the captain of a team or the class president. Children can be taught to see that certain aspects of leadership can be diffused throughout the group and exercised by one individual after another, according to circumstances. Thus, any child who brings in a new idea, who suggests a course of action, who helps others to explain what they are trying to say, who makes people laugh when things get difficult, who smooths out arguments, who appreciates the contributions of others, or who can give relevant information and expert opinion as needed should be recognized as contributing essential leadership, whether or not he is chairman.

Teachers can further assist children to grasp what leadership means by discussing with them the particular demands that each job or office makes. In a second-grade room, for example, the children were guided to think of what was needed most to wash blackboards—a coveted job. They decided that height would make a difference and so elected some very tall boys. Beginning with such simple matters, children can learn how to consider and appraise requirements for situations of increasing complexity all through school.

A third important contribution that schools can make to leadership training consists in enlarging the range of activities that bring leadership and active participation into play. This can be done by inviting different "talents" into play at different points, as was the case with a high-school group dissatisfied with their club situations. One student proposed that they find out just who were in clubs and what their opinions were. Another was able to describe a method of sampling opinion and suggest where to go for information about membership. A third student took over responsibility for making the survey and tabulating the results. As this undertaking continued and grew into a student committee on recreation as a whole, other students acted as leaders at different stages.

We need to allow for more situations in which children have a chance to develop joint purposes with respect to what they want and see as important. This will sometimes mean helping children to identify concerns of which they may not have been aware. Sometimes it may be a question of helping them see why certain things need to be done. Such teacher guidance should not be confused with manipulation or putting things over. This means giving small chances in preparation for bigger ones. Children can learn through a series of minor positions which make increasing demands on their resources how to handle the most important offices open to students. Teachers can use routines and odd jobs as opportunities to develop skill and attitudes where now the emphasis is on getting such things done fast and efficiently.

To sum up, the school's job is to give children training in all of the skills required by group situations. This means taking time to plan with them how activities are to be carried out. It also involves discussing with them how a particular performance went in terms of what the group was after: which methods worked best, how well the goal was accomplished, how different people contributed to the result, and what alternative ways there are. This

is very different from allowing children to blame one of their number for "not co-operating" or "being a bad leader." It means considering and trying out alternate ways of working out any problem, comparing the results again in terms of the group's purpose, and discussing what was achieved and learned through each alternative. It means providing opportunities for practice in all steps of planning and acting in groups. Education of this sort trains for both participation and leadership, for appreciation of individual differences and a wide range of varying contributions and, at the same time, of the value of doing things together for personal initiative and for commitment to group goals.

STUDENTS AND FACULTY WORK TO IMPROVE LIFE IN SCHOOL*

John T. Robinson

In a large Midwestern city a thousand boys leave their homes and become members of a new community. They are students of an occupational school and, therefore, come from all sections of the city. They are a cosmopolitan group representing all the racial, ethnic, and religious groups in the population. Most of them are from lower economic groups and most of the white students are of foreign-born parents. Many of the Negro youngsters are migrants from the rural South. The boys are transferred to this school from other schools. They are transferred for a variety of reasons such as not being able to "keep up" with the academic work in other schools and sometimes creating behavior problems.

* The descriptive examples are drawn from the program of Thomas Edison Occupational School, Cleveland, Ohio, one of the co-operating schools of the Project. Mr. Michael J. Eck is the Principal, Mr. Charles Romcea is faculty adviser of the student council.

The First Student Activities

The school itself had a previous reputation of being the "bad boys' school"; teachers in other sections of the city seemed to feel sorry for those who taught at this school; some of the teachers in this school do not expect boys to be able to do many of the things which other boys could do with ease. The fact that they were considered academically unable seemed also to mean that boys could not make decisions, could not learn to assume responsibility. Even the bus driver stopped at the corner and called out "all out for Alcatraz." Maybe he was kidding, but the boys were offended by it. Feeling mistreated and forced to do things they did not want to do, they were fearful and reluctant to confide in most teachers and had few friendships among themselves.

Behavior was a constant problem that harassed the teachers; mass misbehavior was not unusual—large numbers of boys "rushing" the hall guides and pushing out the door. A general atmosphere of dejection and feeling of inferiority were in evidence. Boys talked about how bad things were, and insisted they could not be improved. When a few boys tried to make constructive suggestions, replies of "Aw, nuts!" or "teachers don't care what becomes of you," were frequently heard.

In such an atmosphere, the boys learned much about themselves, about how action is taken and about society itself. They learned that adults, particularly teachers, were pitted against boys on almost every issue and they developed behavior to avoid this conflict—to "get by." They learned that the established society was inflexible and that they were dispossessed of rights to action; they learned to combat this inflexibility only through disparagement or visible lack of concern. They learned that they were "not as good" as some people, and learned to withdraw or to fight back.

The principal and a few teachers were concerned about developing better school life in which the boys might learn other things. The principal released a teacher from social-studies classes to form a student council. The council was to take on some functions now

carried on by appointed student or teacher groups. But it started with a "clean slate" according to which an interested teacher, a sympathetic principal, and a group of boys could work out what they thought best.

The council met each day on school time. It included a representative of each homeroom and a set of officers elected from the school at large. Few boys were interested in the council at all, nobody wanted to run for office, "it will flop," "the kids here won't help do anything," and similar comments placed the first council in the position of having to make a place for itself in the school's life.

Much time was given to discussing what the boys thought it was important to do. They expressed as their greatest wish for school life "a better reputation for the school." They were extremely sensitive on the point that their school was "different" and therefore not as good as other schools. They particularly resented the connotation of "bad boys' school" and talked about ways of improving its reputation.

While charged with considerable feeling that "it can't happen here," the council talked itself into trying to do something. Since it was one of the oldest in the city, the building looked dark and dingy. The council started a campaign to keep the building clean and to get it washed and painted inside. They started plans for a student dance—such an activity not having been held in the school in years. The council boys, buttressed by each other's willingness to try, started "talking up" the school in their homerooms. Many faced apathy on the part of both students and teachers. The cloud of futility was always present, and comments such as "some teachers just hang around to draw their pay" and "these kids won't try to do anything" often colored the council meetings.

Discussions would bog down for lack of organization so the boys had to learn acceptable procedures in carrying on a meeting. They began asking themselves "If we won't try ourselves, why would the rest of the guys?" The meetings took on new dignity.

If parliamentary procedure was followed too strictly, it nevertheless gave the boys a feeling that they could do things "right," an extremely important consideration in this school.

As they were working on their plans, the principal suggested that the council could take on certain responsibilities in the school. The matter of guides in the halls was taken over by the council, and a system of "leaders" from the council was selected for work on this committee. They took over the banking day and the gathering of tax stamps. They planned to sell T-shirts with the school insignia on them to help the kids be proud of their school—other schools had them. These sold readily.

Serious thinking went into the dance they were planning. The constant fear that it might be "a flop" goaded the committees to work hard, if sometimes ineffectively, in setting up the arrangements for the first dance. These working committees made reports to the council, and each minute point was considered and questioned by the whole group. They consulted the custodian about having the building washed and painted inside, and were referred to the school administration. They wrote their request to the school administration and received the answer that there was not enough money in the budget to cover such a job that year. They tried to get permission to wash and paint the school themselves, but other complications made this impossible.

However, several things happened this first year to give the council members a feeling of satisfaction—new wind for working for school improvement. Their first dance was a success—about fifty couples came and everyone seemed to have a good time. Boys found that they could carry out the activities for which the council was responsible and that the school administration would allow them freedom to carry out their responsibilities. An incident occurred which showed them that, as a group representing the school, they had the respect of adults and also had some power. When two other schools used their football field for a game a

fight ensued which resulted in a near riot. The local papers the next day carried a two column headline, "Near Riot On . . . School Football Field." Seeing further damage to their school's reputation, a committee of the council called on the newspaper city editor, explained the situation to him, and secured a retraction and explanation in the next issue of the paper.

The New Social Atmosphere

The principal called together interested teachers and talked over with them the matter of developing a more adequate group life in the school. These discussions, based on the work of the student council, were on two questions: What other activities in the school can be provided to help more boys feel a part of things? And, what can we do in our classrooms to help the boys learn the things they need to learn in an atmosphere of mutual respect? These discussions led several teachers to offer to sponsor activities in which they had a personal interest.

The school newspaper became an active concern of one staff member, another sponsored a "boosters club," still another an art club and Hi Y club. These activities took in a larger number of boys, but each included some of the council boys also. These boys had taken on the reputation of "student leaders," and new leadership was not sought, nor did it find an avenue for development.

But new considerations of the desires and needs of the entire student body began to develop. The newspaper staff conducted a poll to find out the kinds of things they "wanted to read" in the school paper. The largest number of responses had to do with "my own name," and having a printed paper like other schools. The boys of the staff took all of these suggestions seriously and tried to meet them. In order to support a printed paper it was necessary to assure continuity in subscriptions for each issue. They took the problem to the student council, who discussed the advisability of raising student fees an extra quarter to insure an edition

large enough to make copies available to all students. The discussions in the council pointed out that members "should be sure that is what the fellows want," and decided to defer action until each could talk it over with his homeroom. Having done this, each brought back the comments of his room, and the additional fee was voted. While some teachers objected to giving the council this much authority, other teachers and the principal took the position that the boys were dealing with a live problem, that they had canvassed their constituents and had explored all possibilities, and that their recommendation to the administration for the raise in fees should be approved.

As more projects began to develop in the school, the now recognized leaders of the student group were involved in more and more activities. The consequence of having their "fingers in too many pies" was that there was competition for their time and some jobs suffered. This set a new problem for the student council. They had discussed the matter of too few people being in activities and felt that every fellow needs a chance to do something he wants to do and to be "in things." The executive committee of the council began to assume responsibility for helping other boys learn to participate and to "take over" some of the activities.

Several changes in the whole school have since taken place. Some teachers have organized their homerooms so that boys have more opportunity to discuss the problems they face and how they want to try solving them. Activities of the student groups have occasionally been utilized as teaching material in the classroom. For instance, the social-studies department prepared the ballots for student elections, set up the procedures for voting, and familiarized the student body with these.

Disciplinary problems have been reduced during this period, and mass misbehavior is at a minimum. No longer do the hall guides get "rushed", their directions are followed and the boys

joke with them. The guides behave differently too. One no longer has to ask where the office is; upon entering the hall a guide shows you the way. Guides take pride in pointing out to visitors what the students are doing. They frequently ask, "Would you like to see the student council room?" and are eager to explain why students are doing certain things.

Any council member will tell you that "over eight hundred ballots were cast in the last student election and less than ten ballots had to be thrown out for incorrect marking," and one thinks back to the beginning when students would not volunteer to run for office. The council is known to students and its function respected, seventh graders will tell of its activities. Students are more critical of their own procedures and less critical of persons involved in a situation. At a recent discussion of why a member had not carried out his responsibility, a student said, "We all knew he had been busy with the dance and that he works after school. We agreed to help him, but the only two of us who typed were so tied up we didn't get to it. But we will help him get his job finished before the next meeting." And one recalls the early meetings when boys said, "The kids in this school won't do anything."

A feeling that the students belong together has developed. The council was recently planning a dinner to which they would take dates. The chairman in charge of arrangements made his report: "I've checked on three places. The best place I've found is I asked if we would all be welcome and they said if Negroes were included, they would accept us, but it would be up to us to see there wasn't any trouble. What do you fellows want to do?"

A young chap of Italian descent got to his feet and addressed the chair. "Mr. Chairman. Every guy on this council has worked as hard this year as every other guy. I won't go to a place where some of us are just accepted. I want to go to a place where one of us is just as welcome as another."

"Mr. Chairman, I agree with Joe."

Nods around the room prompted the chairman to call for a motion.

Everyone, to a man, agreed.

A new feeling has developed among the boys that they belong here and have a stake in the school. Many more boys are interested in keeping the school's reputation growing; more boys look for jobs to do around the school.

Boys are more able to carry on the citizenship responsibilities they face. When the school needs cleaning, they have learned the channels through which such a problem is to be handled. They have learned that to represent a group the representative must be in constant touch with his constituents. Through trial and success they have learned which problems they can handle alone and which ones they cannot. Most important, they have learned that a person counts for something.

The social atmosphere in the school has changed in consequence. A feeling has grown that things can be changed by appropriate action, that people will listen to what one has to say, that they are able to do things. The school staff and the boys recognize that they have a long way to go before securing maximum opportunity for everyone in the school; but the important thing is that they see a way of getting there.

Such management of the school society produces new motivations along social lines. The lack of strong positive traditions and structure within the school facilitated the development of a new atmosphere. As students who participated in the first activities gained satisfaction, they developed new symbols and rituals which stabilized the activities. In this social setting, larger numbers of people could participate actively.

While the change in the school society began in a single area— increase in student participation through the formation of a student council—this change induced other changes. The notion of having a student council grew for both boys and faculty into a desire for more activities to provide opportunity for many boys

to participate in school life. The recognition that the boys could assume responsibility when given the chance prompted some teachers to revise classroom practices to make the development of such behavior possible. Accomplishment in one area helped the boys change their attitudes toward themselves and toward each other; a new feeling that they could do things made a difference in many areas of school life

What Made the Change?

Several important factors in creating the changes in the school society stand out. The quality of contact among the boys and between boys and teachers changed in one area and facilitated change in other areas. Meeting to work a problem through together helped teachers revise their notions of the boys and the boys to revise their notions of teachers and of each other. The nature of the jobs to be done depended upon both teachers' and boys' recognition of each other as contributors to the good of all. More mature analysis of why things were or were not accomplished resulted in and reflected a change in attitude toward each other.

The purpose to achieve something both boys and teachers wanted, and the sequence of time needed to meet this purpose, tended to make permanent the changes in behavior required to reach their goal. Conscious provision was made for the boys to develop appropriate symbols and rituals to support the developing social atmosphere. The Boosters Club asked that the school song be sung at each assembly to ensure that everyone knew the words and the request was granted. Sweater insignias, a school flag, and other symbols were selected and the boys established a ritual by which officers of the student body were installed.

What made this development possible?

1. The school administration recognized the importance of learning citizenship skill in a real situation. If the boys have planned carefully and taken all factors into consideration, they

are given every opportunity to exercise their judgment, if they have not, other factors are suggested for them to look into before making a decision

2. Sufficient time for doing the jobs agreed on was provided for both the students and teachers involved. Believing that an atmosphere in which children can learn is of equal importance with classroom instruction, the academic program was made flexible enough to give students additional time when the occasion demanded.

3. Assignments were made to the staff only as readiness for the job was reached, and everything possible was done to create readiness. The student activities were discussed, their possibilities and needs were explored in staff meeting, and teachers were invited to join the enterprise. As teachers wished to help and saw a contribution they could make, they were drawn into the program. Starting with one teacher, the third year of the program finds seven teachers actively engaged in one activity or another.

4. Communication was so handled that the planning and accomplishments in student activities could be shared with people working on curriculum construction. A questionnaire primarily designed to give a better basis for planning student activities raised many questions important in curriculum planning, and gave impetus to rethinking the basis upon which learning experiences in mathematics, English, and personal regimen were determined. As an outgrowth of this rethinking in limited curriculum construction the entire faculty discussed and prepared a new school philosophy. During the current semester a representative committee (composed of one member from each department on released time) is implementing the new philosophy by making a thorough study of the characteristics and needs of the school's pupils, and by preparing the specific principles upon which curriculum revisions can be developed.

5. The direction in which the program was to move was care-

fully clarified. Knowing that direction, the principal and teachers were more aware of situations which showed promise for furthering the school's objectives. When certain student leaders were involved in too many things, a limitation on their activities was not instituted. Recognizing this as an opportunity for learning, the problem was referred to the student council for handling.

SORORITIES AND THE SCHOOL CULTURE

Margaret M. Heaton

Mountcrest High School is located in a prosperous residential section of a Midwestern city. In other days, it might have been called a silk-stockings school; a more appropriate name today would be cashmere-sweater school, for among its 1,700 students the opinion is widely held that only those girls "rate" who own more than six cashmere or angora sweaters. Other symbols of prestige include wearing feathers or bright ribbons to match your socks and "making" a sorority. As is true of hundreds of schools in similar neighborhoods across the country, Mountcrest is riddled by snobbish cliques. Divisions between those who belong and those who are left out cause heartache to parents as well as to their daughters, and bewildered concern to the faculty and leaders of the community. When the school first became active in the Project on Intergroup Education, the principal was likewise disturbed by other cleavages, such as misunderstanding between parents who blamed the school for not providing wholesome social activities, and the teachers who blamed parents for setting false social standards. In view of this widespread unhappiness, the project consultants agreed to study the situation.

The First Observations

The consultants began by sounding out public opinion on the sorority problem. They wanted to find out what it meant, what

factors in school or the community fostered it, and how it affected the lives both of girls who were in sororities and of those who were not. They found that some parents condemned sororities wholeheartedly and cited instances of girls who had endured weeks of bitterness after failing to get invited. Other parents, often those whose daughters had made the grade, disagreed. "We cannot deny our girls the privilege of friendship," they argued "We feel safe when they associate with other nice girls; they learn manners and standards and grooming from each other. It's the girls who don't get in who make all the trouble; they exaggerate their sense of being left out and just have no initiative. Why don't they form clubs of their own? They just lack initiative." The teachers looked at things differently. Often they admired girls who stood out against sororities. They felt sympathy for those students whose scholarship went down after their failure to get elected, and who showed in other ways how deeply they had been hurt. Very often teachers openly expressed their disapproval of sororities altogether. Little groups of girls chatting in the halls or on the playgrounds were sometimes reprimanded for being "cliquish" and bringing organizations into school that had no business there.

Students who were in sororities were well aware of being rather steadily under scrutiny. They resented the faculty's accusations of snobbery and claimed in seemingly well-rehearsed speeches that they judged and selected girls exclusively on friendliness and personality. They were defensive about their dress and ways of doing things; in the school clubs they often tried overconscientiously to participate in many activities. Students who were not in sororities were sometimes rather self-conscious about their indifference or their disdain of what the other girls cared about. It became clear that all this talk about the sorority problem was generating more heat than light. The same arguments were encountered over and over again and nothing seemed to be coming out of the inquiry.

A teacher who had attended the project's summer workshop on intergroup education took an important step in gathering significant evidence. She read with her relatively unsophisticated students in the tenth grade a series of short stories on the feelings of newcomers on first arriving in strange communities. She guided the discussion so as to make the girls and boys wonder how newcomers to their school might feel. They planned a meeting for parents and teachers at which they invited some students who had recently come to Mountcrest to give their first impressions of the school. One boy spoke earnestly as follows:

I would say everyone here is very friendly, much more friendly than in the school I came from. Everyone smiles here and all the students have good manners. I never feel unhappy, except that I have to walk home alone in the afternoon. The other students have their groups all formed to go home together. Then my heart has a big lump in it. There are four children in my family and we all feel that way—set aside and left alone.

Poignant testimony such as this led one school organization to plan a welcome party for all newcomers. While this quick translation of new sensitivity into action did not materially alter the school atmosphere, it showed how responsive the students could be once they understood a situation. Later evidence further substantiated the suggestion that the social problem was not one of indifference or callousness, but rather a matter of not knowing how to build bridges between groups and establishing an inclusive pattern.

The Survey of Participation

The next step was to propose a survey of the activity program in order to find out what kind of participation was open to all students, what the girls and boys knew about these opportunities, and how well the clubs provided for free and rewarding association. Accordingly, all tenth-grade students were asked three questions in March, that is to say after they had been at Mount-

crest six months: (1) To what school clubs do you now belong? (2) What clubs do you hope to join? (3) If new school clubs were set up, what kind would interest you?

The results disclosed the following picture. There were altogether too few clubs other than academic (science, French, and the like) and athletic ones. Both boys and girls were interested in other types but, according to the existing situation, could satisfy their interest only in Hi-Y or Y-Teen clubs in school and in social clubs outside. All such clubs separated boys and girls and there were very few opportunities in school activities for boys and girls to know each other as friends. The clubs with the largest memberships were exclusively for one sex and only the academic clubs encouraged both in their membership.

Furthermore, many of these students did not appear to know what the school actually did provide since they suggested, as new clubs to be set up, types that were already in existence. Their ideas likewise reflected a very limited conception of the interests that school clubs can serve. Analysis of the distribution of prestige positions in school, such as officers of clubs and student organizations, indicated that the limelight went to very few individuals.

Along with the above questions, these tenth graders were also asked a question that could be used sociometrically as a measure of student relations, namely, If new school clubs should be formed, with which three students would you like to be associated? The purpose of this added question was to find out, not only which students were most or least wanted by their classmates, and which were on the fringes of esteem, but also what factors of the environment—socioeconomic or religious differences, rivalries between neighborhoods, and the like—seemed to have a bearing on the cleavages in school. The children's answers established, first, that a large proportion of students (twice as large for the boys as for girls) had not been chosen at all or only once, second, that relatively few of them chose two or more students who chose

them in return; and finally that some cliques representing only boys or girls were quite cut off and isolated from other friendship groups. Furthermore, the patterns of association tended to bring children together according to religious affiliation and economic background. Study of the boys and girls who had received the largest number of choices showed that students did not appear to know each other very well. Those who got the limelight at all seemed to monopolize it. This, in turn, meant that training for leadership and the chance to become known and appreciated were extended to very few individuals. In addition to athletic prowess, the attribute that made for such opportunity was membership in a sorority or fraternity.

Both sets of data, from the participation survey and the sociometric question, were summarized for the faculty in a bulletin. It was hoped that an objective statement of the entire situation would help teachers to rise above their preoccupation with the sororities and take a realistic look at all forms of social participation open to students. The conclusions were emphasized that the entire activity program was too narrow in scope, and that group life in school tended to perpetuate a cleavage between boys and girls. Additional evidence was secured from anecdotes about the school dances, only a few students were said actually to dance while most of them went to watch. Furthermore, the Hi-Y groups were found to be so small that they could not invite the large sororities to their parties. Altogether, neither the school activity program, nor the programs in the community seemed to provide sufficient opportunity for satisfying social relations, or sufficiently vital programs to develop in boys and girls social interests or concern for their common problems.

It was interesting to note that the situation at Mountcrest High School seemed to be more fluid and democratic for boys than for girls. Only three fraternities appeared to exist and none of them carried as much prestige as the Hi-Y clubs. Besides, boys had

greater access to activities and seemed to be getting more satisfaction from their programs than did the girls. For instance, in the Hi-Y organization, boys who wanted to join were allowed a three-week "orientation period" and then could indicate, in order of preference, three clubs that appealed to them. Each club had a similar chance to say which of the new candidates it wanted as members. The position of each boy was thus largely determined by mutual choice—a significant factor in maintaining individual and group morale. Moreover, the boys' clubs were small enough to be able to meet in each other's homes and have simple refreshments on each occasion. The intimacy of this setting and the steady guidance of a boys' worker from the Young Men's Christian Association tended to give members a sense of belonging and the group a real corporate life. Yet one fifth of the Mountcrest boys could not join the Hi-Y on account of religious affiliation.

For girls, the main avenue for leadership training seemed to be in sororities, as the Y-Teens had too large groups to permit it to give opportunities to develop friendship groups. Yet the sororities not only concentrated on girls with money and certain sophisticated know-how in dress and grooming and certain social charms and talents, they also tended to emphasize superficial symbols of prestige and, furthermore, lacked adult leadership. A large proportion of girls were deprived of any kind of organized social association and the training in social skills that goes with such association.

Some Student Opinion

By way of follow-up, a series of interviews were held with students chosen to represent different economic levels, religious backgrounds, and status on sorority membership. These girls and boys were asked whether it had been easy or difficult for them to make friends at Mountcrest, how they would advise new students to go about making friends, what they thought determined

friendship, and what they considered the happiest and the unhappiest experience they had ever had in school. The following comments have been selected from these interviews to show the typical range:

Money does make a difference. Clubs don't want girls in who don't have chenille sweaters. They think how many cashmeres she has.

Girls have it harder because boys don't choose by such superficial things as how much money they have.

I haven't had the chance here to meet girls of other religions because the Jewish girls have a group of their own and tend to stay off by themselves. That's so—not quite so much—but a bit, for the Catholic girls.

I like to go with all religions but you get stopped quick when you want to do it. I'm Lutheran and a boy's father won't let him take me out. He is Catholic. But its mostly between Protestants and Jews.

My very best friend doesn't ever speak to me now. She joined a sorority last spring. On account of sororities you never know when you're going to get deserted even if you know the girl for years, like I did since I was little.

If you see some of these girls as individuals, they're wonderful people, but when they're in groups they're not as nice. It's in school and outside. The sets are never with anyone else but themselves and they never go out of their way to be nice to someone else. They don't seem to think anyone counts.

Girls who are nice as individuals become snobbish in conforming to group patterns.

If I hadn't been asked into a club at all, it definitely would have left a scar on me. I'd probably have gotten a complex—I don't know what kind—a feeling I was inferior to other people.

Newcomers have a hard break. They can't make real friends for several years.

You are likely to be ignored or pushed aside unexpectedly if you are not protected by sorority membership.

Being Jewish often means being played for what you can give but not receive friendship in return. People think it all right to treat Jews that way.

The real indictment of the sororities is not to be found in the protests or resentment of the girls who happen to be left out. It is rather to be found in what all students learn about themselves, and in expectations of social groups they acquire without realizing how or when they do so. Both the faculty and the consultants had some general interpretations of what students—and particularly the girls—were learning. Parents said, "My children expect to be unhappy if we can't afford things other parents give their children." Teachers said, "These girls think that manners, grooming, clothes, the kind of house you live in are the only important things to judge people by." One leader of a school club remarked that she lived in an apartment in a less desirable neighborhood than did others in the school. She added wistfully, "The girls at Mountcrest would not like to come here for meetings. If they did, they would recognize that, though the neighborhood is a bit run down, it is a very pleasant and delightful place to live."

The Conclusions

As a result of the above studies and interviews, the consultants and teachers reached certain conclusions together. The whole problem of sororities was lifted out of its original context and seen as part of a much larger issue. The cliquishness of certain girls and the general lack of flexibility in social relations were recognized as symptoms of an unduly meager group life in school. It was agreed that the school had not been planning adequately for the needs of growing young people, and that the "sorority problem" had become a "sore thumb" so prominent as to get all the attention while the lack of opportunity for developing social maturity were overlooked. The immediate concern thus veered away from whether or not sororities and fraternities should be prohibited and toward building an inclusive activity program designed to meet a variety of interests, to give a cosmopolitan experience in association for everyone, and to equip everyone with

cosmopolitan patterns of acceptance, social skills, and expectations of people.

Several suggestions grew out of these discussions. It seemed that the school needed to foster more natural relations between girls and boys and promote joint activities for them. Attention was needed in the matter of distributing prestige positions on a wider basis and developing wider opportunities for the exercise of new kinds of student leadership, so that more students can have a sense of belonging, can feel important, and can get leadership training. Programs were talked about that called for skills and aptitudes other than athletic or purely social ones, in the narrow sense of the word. It was likewise suggested that particular attention might be given to drawing those boys and girls into things who were cut off from full participation outside of school. The many neighborhood cleavages that fed the problems of Mountcrest High School served to indicate, furthermore, that the school would not be able to meet the situation adequately all by itself. The difficulty came to be seen as eventually involving the whole community. Before it could be fully met the combined efforts would be required of parents as well as teachers, of adults as well as young people, and of other agencies and institutions as well as of the school and the home.

STUDYING THE CHILD'S SOCIAL WORLD

Francis W. Marburg

Effective teaching depends considerably on knowing the child's social world. This world is in part visible in the child's associations and activities, in and out of school. In part it is reflected in his accumulated ways of thinking, feeling, and doing things.

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Fairly simple instructional devices can be used to get reasonably good information about this world. Children can write on what they do, what they like and dislike, what they admire in others, and similar topics. To convert this material into useful data one needs to recognize that children are revealing a good deal about themselves, that this information can be summarized and pieced together, and that implications can be drawn for classroom procedure and instructional practice. The following discussion intends to show how some teachers have used diaries and themes on open or projective questions to get such information.

Diaries

Students can be asked to keep records of their social activities out of school. The result will be simple accounts of the child's doings, experiences, associations, and interactions with individuals and groups, or things done independently in the course of the day. These records can be used to study and interpret the pattern of relations and activities open to and realized by the child.

Consider the following excerpt: "I got home at four. From four to six-thirty I practiced. I had dinner and washed the dishes. At seven-thirty I started on my homework. By nine-thirty I was in bed. The things I do are pretty much routine." Or again: "I walked home with my girl friends. When I got home I finished my algebra. I went to the store on an errand. I read a magazine for a while. I ate dinner and did the dishes. I finished a story in the magazine and studied my Spanish. I listened to the radio and went to bed." These were not exceptional entries for this group of diaries. The accounts of a number of children, taken on different days, frequently described a rigid set of routines within the home with few occasions for outside association with other children. They displayed a pattern of parental supervision with emphasis on schoolwork, on special training in music or dancing and the like, on visits to the doctor, and on taking children to parties when they occurred and calling for them afterwards.

A rather different picture emerges from the diaries kept by another group of children. Here is a typical case: "I went to the cleaners and then to the store with Maryann. After doing my homework I helped with supper. The girls called me, but I had to eat. They came back in about fifteen minutes and we went to———(a public amusement center). I had a wonderful time. We did not get a box of Christmas cards because the boys were trying to be funny. We walked home with them. I wonder what Jimmy would say if he knew, but I suppose he does the same. I got home about nine-thirty and went to bed." When much the same account comes in from most of the class, there is evidence of children initiating their own contacts and activities, but without a systematic plan or purpose other than enjoying themselves. In an atmosphere which permits such loose association, the importance of personal friends is very great; those who do not happen to be around when plans are made often get left out. If the range of activities is limited, many children who may not have the particular abilities or skills may find themselves cut off. Then their lives may take on the pattern reflected in another diary: "I came home and sat on the back porch watching my neighbors fix their car. They work on the junk practically every day. I watched them take it apart. By the time they got through it was time for me to take care of my pigeons . . . After supper I went and did my homework. At eight I was so tired of loafing, I went right to bed."

When teachers want to summarize diaries so as to get the overall pattern, they will find a tally form useful. This will help them to get at the range of activities, the frequency of individual and general participation, and the extent of association with families and peers, or of independent activity. Such forms should be devised in terms of what one wants to distinguish or find out. For instance, reports on sports, games, or play may be grouped under physical activities. Socializing activities, such as visits to each other's homes, walking and talking together, or chatting at

the street corner, may become another category. Activities like going to the movies, watching games, reading, or listening to the radio may be grouped together as passive participation. Other categories may be set up for hobbies and crafts, jobs and chores, and miscellaneous activities. Another basis for the classification might be according to whether the child engages in the activity alone, with peers, or with members of the family. By running one set of categories vertically down the page and the other horizontally across the top, the same tally may be used to cover both classifications simultaneously. This will consequently yield evidence not only on the range and frequency of activities, but also on the type of associations.

No summary of this sort will take care of all information in the diaries, but it should provide a framework for interpretation in broad outline. The characteristic use of leisure time will appear for the class, together with some indication of preferred companionship or regularity of performance. Differences between individuals and groups will emerge—for instance, as between girls and boys, or children from contrasting residential sections, as well as between Mary and Betty or Tom and Bill. When writing up the interpretation, additional facts and comments can be worked in to show the context in which certain or all children engage in particular activity, attitudes or emotional overtones that are common to the class, or perhaps the special problems of selected individuals. When needed, separate tallies can be made to check or substantiate any impression derived from reading the diaries in sequence.

After the findings have been arranged in this way, certain general conclusions may be drawn. A particular set of children may be seen as accepting a fairly simple and repetitious routine of family-centered activities that take adequate care of their physical needs but are not very exciting. Many of their pursuits are solitary or limited to small groups. They report few opportunities for

organized and guided socializing and refer only occasionally to agencies, like the Scouts, with ongoing programs. Relations with their families seem to be friendly and the parents are protective. This being the case, what are the implications for the school? How much opportunity do these children get in class to develop social skills or practice working in groups? What is being done to help the socially awkward to overcome their sense of inadequacy? Unless the pattern set by the community and home life is actively counteracted and supplemented in school, such children may never learn sufficient skills for group living.

Certain points need to be kept in mind in making interpretations. For example, comparisons between the several categories of activities are likely to be inaccurate, unless there is a rough balance of short- and long-term pursuits in each. This is usually the case but not necessarily so. If it is not true then a faulty impression will be suggested by the frequency count. Even when the time element is roughly equal, it is one thing to establish the most pervasive activities and quite another to decide their relative importance to the children in question. The range of activities open to the child, the expectations of his family, and the demands made upon his time, as well as his own inclinations, need to be considered.

Any single technique for studying human behavior is subject to limitations. The important point is that children's diaries offer enough information to focus teachers' attention on social content of children's lives, on gaps and blank points in their social experience which otherwise may not be perceptible.

When asking children to write diaries, the following points should be kept in mind. First, the students should be stimulated to write freely; they should feel that what they say will make a difference and that this is more than an ordinary assignment. Second, it is important to point out that the record should be a chronological account of what they did, with whom they did it,

and where, and should include any interesting details on what happened. Third, let the students know that their diaries will be kept confidential and that the class will discuss only those matters that turn out to be of general interest. Fourth, it is wise to get successive samples of one or two days at a time—a weekend and a little later two successive weekdays, etc.—so as not to overburden the children and make them cut short their reports. It is not a good idea to ask pupils to cover small intervals of time since this usually results in cursory listing without comment. Finally, one can defeat the purpose of these diaries if, either privately or publicly, the reports are presented in an unfavorable light.

Open Questions

Themes on open or projective questions can provide clues to the child's level of personal satisfaction, and offer comparison between what he reports himself as actually doing and what he likes to do, wants to do, or feels he needs. For example, for some individuals or groups of children, home responsibilities may be so heavy that informal sociability and outside interests are crowded out and there is time left only for homework. Some children accept these responsibilities as a challenge; others may develop hostile attitudes toward their families. The themes also show up how and in what respects children, teachers, and the school may be expecting the same or different things of one another. It is natural for teachers to think of success in school as a ticket of admission to success in life. In doing so, however, they may be overlooking things of immediate importance to specific girls and boys, or that make for prestige among their friends and families. In such a case, there may be no easy way out and it becomes important to examine the evidence. For example, is there anything in the child's themes or diaries to suggest that grammatical speech makes for recognition from his peers? If not, what is the best way of motivation to learn good English? The assump-

tion that the child world has no values because they are not the school's values is to oversimplify the matter. To try to teach without taking the child's values into account is unrealistic and like performing in a motivational vacuum. Both may result in negative attitudes toward the school.

These themes can help in diagnosing the gap between students' aspirations for himself and his realities. A child's personal aspirations may be completely out of line with the social, economic, or cultural possibilities available to him. Cases have been found of ambitions entertained by minority-group or middle-class children that, in all likelihood, would never result in personal effectiveness or satisfaction to the individuals concerned. While it may be wrong to discourage all children in this situation, the realistic approach might be to discuss with them possible next steps and to set up intermediate goals. In any case, it is a great help to know whether or not a child approaches his world constructively. Does he try to meet its limitations and his own shortcomings, and how can he be helped to do so? He may have no such wish, or he may not realize that social relations are flexible and can be reoriented to some extent if he knows how or where to get help.

Topics that can yield pertinent information include the following: the things I wish for most, what I most (least) like to do, what I admire in other people, things I like (dislike) about myself, things that others like (dislike) about me, or things that make me happy (mad), and the like. Sometimes it is useful to explore special aspects of the child's environment through themes such as changes I would like to see in my home, how I was punished and what for, or how children get to be important in my neighborhood. Such discussions often cover parental attitudes and behavior as well as the children's feelings. Related subjects can be taken up indirectly in class discussions on family relations or neighborhood activities.

There is no one way of summarizing the results from such

questions. The behavior and concerns highlighted by any group of students are uniquely embedded in a particular environment and in extremely personal reactions to it. Each factor is part of the other. Therefore each set of papers must be studied before deciding on a form or list of categories to use for analysis. Take children's wishes as an example. These will probably include a number of material possessions for themselves and other people. What and how numerous they are will reflect not only their own wants but also their families' standards and the values of their peers. The results can indicate that the children are poorly equipped to do the things they yearn for most. For some children the health and well-being of members of their families can be a strong enough source of anxiety to crowd out other, more personal wishes. Others may express the desire for success in school or for prominence in particular vocations. Still others may give vent to their imaginations and put down rocket ships or golden palaces as their wishes. The majority of spontaneous wishes seem to relate themselves to the child himself or to the immediate family. When they do go beyond this circle, they tend to be expressed in such vague generalities as world peace and equality. Each of the above groupings could be used as a category for summarizing the themes if the content indicated as much.

From several sets of themes on any of the topics suggested above, it is possible to get a fairly good idea of the things that matter most to a given group of children. The values of one set within the class can be compared with those of other sets, and individuals can be spotted who deviate from the norm. Summaries are useful for making comparisons between different grade levels or between children of varying ethnic or socioeconomic background. Single papers without reference to the group are usually not sufficiently revealing to help teachers understand a child. If intensive study of a particular individual is the object, then all available information bearing on the child should be assembled,

and relevant comments should be lifted from all themes and listed side by side according to whatever scheme is desired. Then the teacher may start to piece together as much of the whole pattern as is revealed. If certain problems are previously known to exist, this method will serve to suggest how large or small they may loom in the child's eyes.

In Conclusion

It is easy to fall prey to a desire to study children's attitudes in relation to world-shaking issues that may be of special interest to adults. But it is the things of immediate importance to children that usually provide the situations in which their attitudes are formed. There is good reason to suppose that many behavior patterns established in such connections, ways of feeling and thinking, carry over with psychological continuity into adult life. It may be objected that children's diaries give neither complete nor accurate pictures of their activities, and that themes on open questions deal only with surface thoughts and emotions. All of this is true. But it would be unwarranted to set a technique aside merely because it does not unfold the entire landscape. In many respects the individual himself is a good, if not the best, interpreter of his actions. Its value is demonstrated by the successes teachers can achieve if they systematically inform themselves of the things important to children.

USING CHILDREN'S SOCIAL RELATIONS FOR LEARNING

Helen H. Jennings

In a classroom, as in any group situation, certain patterns of social relations come into being among the individuals. These patterns represent the network of spontaneous interaction through

which communication takes place. But it does not follow that the best possible network always materializes of its own accord, nor yet that the lines of interaction are invariably those which the school would like to have or assumes to exist. Communication obviously affects the atmosphere for learning. From the educational standpoint it thus becomes important to know what the network of association in any particular classroom really is, and what it is doing to the pupils for their personal and social development.

What To Look For

In order to study the significance of children's association, we need to know not only the specific pattern for each case at a given moment, but also what the pattern means. Does it point to a full rich group life in which there is wide understanding and mutual communication among the members, or does it show up a series of cut-off segments with only meager and intermittent connections between them?

From the project's experience, certain methods and techniques were developed specifically to describe and to analyze these patterns. The study of the meaning of association patterns involved a twofold problem. First, it was necessary to find indexes of association by which to assess a group. Secondly, it was important to see what relation various forms of atmosphere have on the quality of group life. These aspects are treated elsewhere.¹ The present article is confined to discussion of the methods used in the project, and only incidentally describes some of the findings.

Four characteristics have been discovered by our study to differentiate group life with high interaction and high morale. One of these is the extent of the network of association between the

¹ See "Sociometric Work Guide for Teachers," *Intergroup Education in Compulsory Schools*, American Council on Education. This publication will be available next fall in print, under the title, "Sociometry and Human Relations Practices" from the American Council on Education, Washington, D.C.

children. This will determine who will communicate with whom, and how thought and feeling are ventilated throughout the group. Another is the kind and number of leadership positions produced in the group. This reflects the readiness for the members to ask for and to get from its members what the group as a whole needs. It indicates the capacity of the group to permit and to use individual differences in the equipment of its members. A third index is the extent to which members of the group who have least prominent locations in it appear related to most prominent members. The leadership positions thus operate as a vehicle for members who are least chosen to find a voice in group life. For example, it makes a difference whether the timid and quiet children dare extend their choices toward the most sought-after ones. A fourth index is the variety of the roles which individuals in the group have in relation to one another. It is a sign of the absence of a uniform standard in patterns of relationships. Thus, it makes a difference to fullness of group life whether all individuals come to feel they must have close mutual relationships with a few people, or whether they can and do express a variety in kinds of relationships.

Methods of Studying Association Patterns

Certain specific information is especially important to aid in understanding the patterns children's relationships take, no matter which particular methods are used to discover the association patterns.

What opportunities are there for children's feelings for each other to function openly, such as whether or not children who want to help each other can do so legitimately? How much provision is made, and in what context, for collaborating? Is it always the same kind, so that only a limited range of abilities, relevant only to one type of situation can be recognized, such as in the case with skills in map drawing or spelling? Are the official

child leaders appointed by the teacher? Are the routine arrangements such as to keep girls and boys apart in the same classroom? Are the activities on a mass basis in which a few individuals are brought to the fore to report formally to the whole class? Or are they conducted in small intimate groups that allow interaction and mutual exchange? Are there certain jobs that are always performed by the same children? Are some children always given leadership roles, while others always are asked to follow, and how do children feel about these allocations? Do they seem to think the teacher attaches to some jobs more prestige than to others? What feelings do children have about each other which either facilitate or block their mutual relationships? Is there, for example, evidence of disfavoring of certain pupils and favoring of others, regardless of their behavior in classrooms? Have they brought these feelings into the classroom or have they developed them there unknown to the teacher? Has the attitude of the school administration or the teacher's own manner anything to do with them? What do the children think and feel generally about what they are asked or allowed to do through instructional practice?

The range and scope of these questions may have suggested some of the educational implications of social relations in the classroom. Before they can be answered, however, teachers need to see clearly the actual pattern of relations. The immediate issue, therefore, is how to do the basic looking, for the sharpness of this looking will determine what insights are obtained into what fosters or undercuts children's social development.

Direct observation can yield some knowledge of children's relationships. But to observe in order to assess what interpersonal structure children are building requires painstaking and impartial sampling of many kinds of occasions. One may notice who says hello to whom, which children neither say hello themselves nor are greeted by others. Which children are almost always a center of some kind of doings and are run after when they make an

appearance? Are minority-group children regularly seen in separate clusters, and alone, if none of their group are around? It is important to watch such dynamics as who helps whom in emergencies. Sam slips on the ice and is left alone; Harold slips too and several children run up to help him. Lucy is reciting none too well and her classmates exchange glances or look bored; Alice stumbles just as thoroughly but the others back her up.

However, observation cannot ever be systematic enough, nor does observation reach the covert structure and the inner feelings behind overt behavior. Besides, no matter how impartial any individual aims to be, factors beyond his control, including his own tendencies to select in his perceptions, interfere with what he can note and how it is interpreted. Nevertheless, observation gives clues to the points at which more systematic analysis is needed, and thus helps in selection of what to study more fully.

The sociometric question (or test) provides a systematic analysis of the group structure. It consists of asking children themselves with whom they want to associate in a specific situation, such as working in small groups on class projects, seating arrangements in the homeroom, or committees to plan a party. By asking for choices which are to be acted upon, children can be motivated to express their real choices. By arranging the results graphically in a diagram called a sociogram, the teacher can see the position of each pupil within the structure. He can trace the networks of feeling, the ways in which students reach toward each other, and where separations exist.

Once the sociogram is drawn it is possible to examine it in the light of the four indexes discussed above. Many of the questions in the previous section need to be raised in examining the sociometric structure. Whatever the teacher may have discovered through observation will aid in interpreting the meaning of that structure.

The sociometric graph is only the picture of the relationships

themselves and does not reveal why these relationships are the way they are. Neither a single sociogram nor yet a series of them at intervals should be expected to reveal why the social structure is as it is. A sociogram is a frame of reference showing what the state of social interaction is. Therefore, in order to get at the meaning of the interrelationships among children, it is important to find out what determined the choice of each individual. Sociometric interviews, open questions, open themes to write about can serve this purpose. To be useful, these methods must allow each child to project freely his feelings and ideas in respect to his human relations. This can be accomplished only if the child feels that those asking the questions are interested in him as a person and that his feelings are not going to be subjected to judgment.

The interview tries to get at how a child happened to choose the particular persons he did. Material secured through it enables the teacher to see first which particular values operate in the child's choices of other people, such as choosing someone because he helps one, or not choosing someone else because he does not give everyone a chance. By summarizing these particular reasons for choices it is possible to see which values are common among the group and which are uniquely individual as well as the breadth or narrowness of children's understanding about each other.

It is also possible to see what holds the group together and what sets it apart. Distorted notions about each other, which block members from communication or which determine how they react to each other's overt behavior, represent these factors. Such a case is the prejudgment of a Greek boy: "He's Greek and I wouldn't be caught dead near a Greek. I heard from my grandfather they're no good." A brief remark regarding his own choice by the Greek boy—"cause he don't hit on me"—suggests that his expectation of others has become so low that his choice of people is based upon what harm they don't do toward him,

rather than upon any positive events between them. This information brings out into the open the specific factors which work for cleavage and conflict, those which are positive in effect on interaction, and still others which are overlooked by the group in the relationships. The implication of these findings for need in extending the bases of choice and sensitivity can be clearly seen.

Third, by being more aware of the particular ways in which children make an effort to belong, the teacher is in a better position to build rapport. Fourth, the fact of the interview alone is rapport-building, since it suggests to the child that the teacher cares.

Since it is not always convenient or possible for teachers to take the time to interview orally each pupil, children can be asked to write down what they feel about their choices—how they are important to them. Their frankness and ability to express themselves will depend to a great degree on how much they trust the teacher and, to some extent, on how much practice they have had in expressing their feelings. Open topics, questions, or themes provide data which make explicit what children only hint at in sociometric interviews. Such brief remarks, as "he understands me," "I think he's for me, not like some other people," raise many questions. What does this child, for example, mean by "understanding" and "being for him"?

It may be necessary also to know more about how the child feels about himself and about others and how he thinks they feel about him. Writing on such open themes as "what I like about myself," "what others like about me or say they do," "how I criticize myself," "how others criticize me," will give some clues. In addition to learning more about individuals, it is possible to identify the common problems. Examples of these found in some groups are much adverse criticism of children by adults in their lives, violent punishment following actions children did not see to be "wrong," extreme expectations beyond a child's capacity to

achieve, extensive supervision by family, and even neighbors' interference in child's life, etc. These help interpretation of how children behave in peer groups as well as what they need to learn and discuss in the classroom.

This information also throws further light on the meaning of social structure revealed in the sociogram. For example, peer relationships, especially small friendship cliques, become almost compulsive necessities when children are subjected to universal adult pressure. Children isolated or intimidated by their parents have few skills with which to build peer associations. Narrowness of adult appraisal of children reflects in narrowness in their appraisal of each other, and so on.

How to Use the Results

As the data accumulate, the teacher gets an increasingly clearer view of the factors that seem to bring children together or to keep them apart, of the values they look for in one another, of the basis on which they cultivate contacts or leave children out as "not our sort," of the breadth or limitedness of their reactions to others, and of the degree to which they have discovered each other as persons.

Knowing the feeling structure of the children's association, teachers are in a position to take practical steps toward increasing positive outcomes of group association in school. For example, when sheer acquaintance among the pupils is meager, opportunities can be provided for discussion and working in small committees. If leadership is focused on too few individuals and a meager range of abilities, the chance to learn what each one can do can be offered through extending the variety of activities and through using workshop techniques. In other words, teachers can take immediate steps to place children with reference to each other so as to provide each child with one who give him emotional security while at the same time exposing him to others

who may help expand his present social tendencies.² This can be managed by re-seating, by arranging work groups, activity groups, and a host of other immediate association situations. In all such sociometric placements the planning must take into account not alone how children feel about each other, but also how they can balance one another in temperament, skills, and understandings. At one and the same time, the arranging of grouping needs to fulfill as completely as possible both the immediate psychological needs and the needs for growth.

If in the placements children get their most important choices, namely those meaning the most to them, they will become more receptive to growth and learning. An example of this is seen in what Roberta writes regarding her choice for Betty. "When I come to school and I don't feel too good she will cheer me up and she is always a pal, she is always happy and she makes others happy too. When I am with her she cheers me up."

Beyond exposing more pupils to more other pupils through experiences that cause them to reevaluate each other, teachers can also reinforce this development through specific emphasis in the curriculum. For example, the common problems identified in interviews and papers, such as understanding of family differences, can be discussed in classroom. Books and topics and fact-finding can be suggested that will enlarge the children's ideas of human needs, desires, and aspirations, as was the case in another school where children thought there were only two ways of solving conflicts: getting mad and running away from the problem. Girls and boys can be aided not only to see each other in a more real way but also to understand boys and girls from totally different settings from themselves with respect to ethnic, religious, or socioeconomic backgrounds. These follow-up activities can be designed not only to enhance the immediate relationships but in

² For technique of arranging choices for groups, see Helen H. Jennings, "Sociometry in Action," *Midmonthly Survey*, February 1948, and references in note 1.

addition to prevent the formation of frozen notions about human needs, desires, and conditions generally, and of ways of meeting particular situations.

In working with children, it is no longer sufficient to know what they individually expect and value or what they individually find difficult or pleasurable. Children are taught in groups. They affect each other directly in their affections, doubts, hopes, and predilections. Furthermore, the pattern of social relations creates an atmosphere which teaches directly many of the feelings and concepts pertinent to their human relations. For example, if the habit of even expecting that others will talk to one and that one can feel free to approach others is to be taken for granted, children must during their formative years spent in school find some reciprocity for themselves as persons. The task is to allow children to grow with rather than against one another.

SELECTED READINGS IN INTERGROUP EDUCATION

Work in Progress Series

Two booklets, *Reading Ladders for Human Relations* and *Literature for Human Understanding*, are the first publications in the "Work in Progress Series," issued by the staff of the Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools Project. (Published by and available from the American Council on Education, 744 Jackson Place, Washington 6, DC at \$1.00 each.)

Reading Ladders for Human Relations—Published in 1947, now in third printing. A most helpful reading list of 396 titles, of which 99 are annotated. The books are arranged around eight common human problems: Patterns of Family Life, Rural-Urban Contrasts, Economic Differences, Differences between Generations, Adjustment to New Places and New Situations, How It Feels to Grow Up, Belonging to Groups, Experience of Acceptance and Rejection. Many new books as well as old and loved classics are included.

Literature for Human Understanding—Published February 1948.

A stimulating discussion of how to use literature to bring insight into common problems of life, to answer questions arising from conflicts over racial, religious, and economic differences; to dissipate false impressions about "other" kinds of people, to enable children and young people to put themselves in another person's shoes.

Accounts of classroom teaching procedures from first grade through the twelfth show different ways of organizing reading programs so that (a) the focus is on human relations, (b) "preachy" and moralizing approaches are avoided, and (c) situations for objective analysis of problems are set up. Concrete suggestions are given for dealing with stereotypes (the false image that all Jews, Mexicans, Negroes, and other minority groups are "alike" and all embody objectionable traits found in the worst of them). It suggests themes of interest to different age levels, and gives references to stories and novels useful at different age and grade levels. It sets up principles and patterns for effective discussions and shows how to relate discussion to reading. Bibliography of 77 titles cited in the book.

Forthcoming publications The following titles in this series have appeared in tentative mimeographed editions, now exhausted. Printed editions will be available in the fall of 1948.

Sociometry and Human Relations Practices

Evaluation in Intergroup Education

Instructional units prepared by teachers in the Intergroup Education Workshops at the University of Chicago, summers of 1945, 1946, and 1947 can be ordered

from the project office, 137 West 59th Street, New York 19. These mimeographed units include:

- Social Studies—grades 1 to 12
- Literature—grades 1 to 12
- Home Economics—junior high school level
- Art unit—based on common needs—high school
- American Culture—high school

A complete annotated order list is available from the project office

Articles by the Staff Members

Elizabeth Hall Brady, "Recording for Intergroup Education," *See and Hear* (February 1947).

Margaret M. Heaton "Stereotypes and Real People," *English Journal* (May 1946), "Books to Break the Stereotypes," *Education* (January 1946)

Marie M. Hughes, "When the Middle Meets the End," *Childhood Education* (January 1948); "Youth at Work on a Community Program," *National Education Association Journal* (1947).

"Sociometry in Action—How We Get Together in Groups," *The Survey* (mid monthly, February 1948).

Helen H. Jennings, "Sociometric Choice and Leadership," in *Readings in Social Psychology*, Newcomb and Hartley, editors (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1947), pp. 407-13, "Leadership Training Through Sociodrama," *Journal of the National Association of Deans of Women*, X (March 1947), 112-19

John T. Robinson, "Developing Intergroup Relations Through Public Schools," *Education* (February 1947), "Developing Social Intelligence in Children," *Childhood Education* (May 1947).

"What Is Evaluation Up to and Up Against in Intergroup Education?" *THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY* (September 1947).

"Intergroup Education Through the School Curriculum," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (March 1946)

"A Workshop for Teachers," *THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY* (May 1945).

"The Contribution of Workshops to Intercultural Education," *American Unity* (January 1945); and *Harvard Education Review* (May 1945).

"In-Service Training of Teachers for Intergroup Education," *Journal of Educational Sociology* (May 1945) (also editing the whole issue)

Hilda Taba, Co editor: *Democratic Human Relations*, Sixteenth Yearbook, 1945, National Council for the Social Studies. Author: Chapter II, "Curriculum Problems"; Chapter III, "Planning Learning Activities"

Materials Related to School Program

W. H. Kilpatrick and W. Van Til, editors. *Intercultural Attitudes in the Making Parents, Youth Leaders and Teachers at Work* (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1947). Ninth Yearbook of the John Dewey Society, drawn from working experiences of teachers and social workers to meet the needs of school and community leaders working in the area of intergroup relations.

Democratic Human Relations Promising Practices in Intergroup and Cultural Education in Social Studies. Sixteenth Yearbook, National Council for the Social Studies, Washington, D.C., 1945.

Hilda Taba. "General Techniques of Curriculum Planning," Reprint from the Forty-fourth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I.

From Sea to Shining Sea. The American Association of School Administrators has published this report which was prepared by the Commission on Intergroup Education, a committee appointed by the President of the AASA. The report points out the responsibility of school administration in intergroup education and "provides many guides to school administrators who are now working with their associates in building better programs of living through the classrooms of America."

California Elementary School Principals Association. *Education for Cultural Unity*. (1945 Yearbook. Miss Sarah L. Young, Yearbook Distributor, Oakland 3, California.) This has a particularly valuable bibliography of teaching material, background material, and children's books.

What Can Teachers Do—A Hint for Intergroup Relations. A report prepared by the Activities Committee of the Intergroup Study at the College of Education, Wayne University, Detroit. What "special" departments can do in group activity is interestingly and amusingly presented with cartoons and pictures.

"Education for Our Time," *Survey Graphic* (November 1947). Summary of education issues and problems indicating "what is up in education" today. Thirteenth number in the "Calling America Series."

Edith F. Erickson. "Intergroup Education at Collinwood High School," *Clearing House* (September 1947). A description of the program at Collinwood (Cleveland) indicating how materials are used in English, social studies, and science courses.

Preliminary Report of the First National Training Laboratory on Group Development sponsored by the N.E.A. and the Research Center for Group Dynamics, M.I.T., Bethel, Maine, summer 1947. This is an extensive report of the Labora-

tory on Group Dynamics held last summer which was initiated for the following reasons "(1) to provide research scientists with an opportunity to communicate scientific knowledge of group dynamics to key education and action leaders, (2) to provide an opportunity for observing, experiencing, and practicing basic elements of the democratic group process which are relevant to educational and action leadership, and (3) to provide an experimental laboratory for further research explorations of basic problems of assessment and improvement of efficiency of group growth, group thinking, and group action "

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INDEX

- Abelson, Harold H. *The Role of Educational Research in a Democracy*, 454
- Adams, Edward L., Jr., Dreffin, William B., Kimm, Robert B., and Vermilye, Dyckman W. *Attitudes with Regard to Minority Groups of a Sampling of University Men Students from the Upper Socioeconomic Level*, 328
- Agency of Socialization, *The Campus Clique* By Orden Smucker, 163
- Agricultural Nomads Along the Atlantic Coast, By Luveta W. Gresham, 78
- American Education, *Strength of Special issue*, April, 433-496
- American Education, *The Contribution to "The Dignity and Worth of the Individual."* By Anna Porter Burrell, 442
- American Education, *What Is Right? A Letter from an Engineer*, 212
- Anderson, Edward L. *The English Teacher and Intercultural Relations*, 140
- Armstrong, Charles M. *Understanding the Community Community Income and Expenditure Tables an Essential Tool*, 101
- Attitudes with Regard to Minority Groups of a Sampling of University Men Students from the Upper Socioeconomic Level, By Edward L. Adams, Jr., William B. Dreffin, Robert B. Kimm, and Dyckman W. Vermilye, 328
- Autonomous Groups, *The Sociological Significance of.* By Lee Emerson Deets, 482
- Axtelle, George E. *The Management of Men*, 462.
- Berger, Clarence Q. *Evaluating Community Acceptance of Intercultural Education*, 58
- Book Reviews, 127, 189, 250, 320, 382, 428
- Bowerman, Walter G. *Years of School Completed by United States Adults*, 338.
- Boy Scouts, *The Way of the* By Herbert S. Lewin, 169
- Brady, Elizabeth H. *Education for Leadership*, 507
- , and Robinson, John T. *The School Culture and Educational Planning*, 199
- Biameld, Theodore. *An Inductive Approach to Intercultural Values*, 4
- Bristow, William. *Issue editor, Strength of American Education, Special issue*, April, 433-496
- Brown, Marion V. *We the Students of Public School* 233-226
- Burr, Elbert W., and Merideth, Dorothy. *Some Problems of Evaluation in Inter-group Education*, 43
- Burrell, Anna Porter. *American Education, The Contribution to "The Dignity and Worth of the Individual,"* 442
- Cartwright, Marguerite. *Legislation is a Social Control in New York State*, 391.
- Challenge to Education, *Leisure's. Special issue*, January, 257-320
- Child's Social World, *Studying the* By Francis W. Marburg, 535
- Children and the School, *The Reading Interests of* By R. Grann and Hortense D. Lloyd, 215
- Children's Social Relations for Learning, *Using* By Helen H. Jennings, 543
- Church and Recreation, *The* By E. O. Harbin, 279
- Cole, Charley Tidd, Mrs. *Rural Leadership—Its Origin and Development*, 184
- College Study, *The Frame of Reference in the* By Lloyd Allen Cook, 31
- Community Co-Ordinating Councils, *Adolescent Participation in* By Abe B. Stein, 177.
- Community Life, *The School as an Integrating Agency in* By L. H. Garstin, 409.
- "Community Pull," *A Technique for Identifying* By Karl L. Massanari, 198
- Community Service, *A Plan for* By Mark A. McCloskey, 275
- Cook, Lloyd Allen. *The Frame of Reference in the College Study*, 31
- County Support of Education in Georgia and Certain Socioeconomic Variables, *The Relationship Between* By John W. Morgan, 109

- "Cribbing" in Objective Examinations, An Attempt to Measure. By James D. Weinland, 97.
- Deets, Lee Emerson. The Sociological Significance of Autonomous Groups, 482.
- Deschin, Celia S. Tule Lake—Social Science in Inaction, 368.
- Dodson, Dan W. Is Evaluation Much Ado About Nothing? 53.
- Dreffin, William B., Adams, Edward L., Jr., Kamm, Robert B., and Vermilye, Dyckman W. Attitudes with Regard to Minority Groups of a Sampling of University Men Students from the Upper Socioeconomic Level, 328.
- Editorial, 1, 193, 497.
- Educating for Leisure in Private Agencies. By Harold T. Friermood, 296.
- Education and the Transition. By Sidney W. Rice, 233.
- Education for Leadership. By Elizabeth H. Brady, 507.
- Educational Research in a Democracy, The Role of. By Harold H. Abelson, 454.
- Educational Sociology and Ideological Conflict. By Philip M. Smith, 321.
- Educational Sociology Today, The Status of. By George Squires Herrington, 129.
- Evaluating School Participation, A Check List for. By Milton A. Gabrielsen, 318.
- Evaluation Much Ado About Nothing, Is? By Dan W. Dodson, 53.
- Friermood, Harold T. Educating for Leisure in Private Agencies, 296.
- Fulcomer, David M. Some Newer Methods of Teaching Sociology, 154.
- Gabrielsen, Milton A. A Check List for Evaluating School Participation, 318.
- Associate editor, Leisure's Challenge to Education, Special issue, January, 257-320.
- Garstin, L. H. The School as an Integrating Agency in Community Life, 409.
- Giles, H. H. Basic Purposes and Problems in Evaluation of Intercultural Education, 12.
- Grann, R. and Lloyd, Hortense D. The Reading Interests of Children and the School, 215.
- Gresham, Luveta W. Agricultural Nomads Along the Atlantic Coast, 78.
- Hanscom, James H. Take Them Out of Their Protections, 146.
- Harbin, E. O. The Church and Recreation, 279.
- Heaton, Margaret M. Sororities and the School Culture, 527.
- Herrington, George Squires. The Status of Educational Sociology Today, 129.
- Hjelte, George. Trends in Municipal Recreation, 291.
- Intercultural Education, Basic Problems in Evaluation of. By H. H. Giles, 12.
- Intercultural Education, Evaluating Community Acceptance of. By Clarence Q. Berger, 58.
- Intercultural Education, Evaluation in Programs of. By Louis E. Rath, 25.
- Intercultural Relations, The English Teacher and. By Edward L. Anderson, 140.
- Intercultural Values, An Inductive Approach to. By Theodore Brameld, 4.
- Intergroup Concepts and Stereotypes, Children's. By Rose Zeligs, 113.
- Intergroup Education, Selected Readings in, 553.
- Intergroup Education, Some Problems of Evaluation in. By Dorothy Merideth and Elbert W. Burr, 43.
- Intergroup Education, What Is Evaluation Up to and Up Against in? By Hilda Taba, 19.
- Intergroup Relations at Cosmopolitan Junior High. By Travis H. Taylor, 220.
- Intergroup Relations, Evaluation of Agencies and Programs in. Special issue, September, 1-64.
- Intergroup Relations in Arizona. By Roy C. Rice, 243.
- International Migration Movements. By Arthur Prinz, 485.
- Isaacs, William and Kolodny, Jules. The Role of Myths in Critical Education, 472.
- Jennings, Helen H. Using Children's Social Relations for Learning, 543.

- Juvenile Delinquency—A Parent-Teacher Challenge By J M Master, 385
- Kamm, Robert B, Adams, Edward L., Jr., Dreffin, William B, and Vermilye, Dyckman W. Attitudes with Regard to Minority Groups of a Sampling of University Men Students from the Upper Socioeconomic Level, 328.
- Kaplan, Louis. *New Horizons in Teacher-Community Relationships*, 417
- Katona, Arthur. *Social Art A Community Approach*, 65
- Kolodny, Jules and Isaacs, William. *The Role of Myths in Critical Education*, 472.
- Legislation as a Social Control in New York State. By Marguerite Cartwright, 391.
- Lewin, Herbert S. *The Way of the Boy Scouts*, 169.
- Lindeman, Eduard C. *The Dynamics of Recreational Theory*, 263.
- Lloyd, Hortense D and Grann, R. *The Reading Interests of Children and the School*, 215.
- McCloskey, Mark A. *A Plan for Community Service*, 275.
- Management of Men, The* By George E. Axtelle, 462
- Marburg, Francis W. *Studying the Child's Social World*, 535.
- Massanari, Karl L. *A Technique for Identifying "Community Pull"*, 198.
- Master, J M. *Juvenile Delinquency—A Parent-Teacher Challenge*, 385
- Mendeth, Dorothy and Burr, Elbert W. *Some Problems of Education in Inter-group Education*, 43.
- Messick, J D. *Negro Education in the South*, 88.
- Meyer, Harold D. *State's Responsibility to Local Communities*, 307
- Morgan, John W. *The Relationship Between County Support of Education in Georgia and Certain Socioeconomic Variables*, 109.
- Municipal Recreation, Trends in.* By George Hjelte, 291.
- Nash, Jay B. *A Philosophy of Recreation in America*, 257.
- , *Issue editor, Leisure's Challenge to Education*, 257-320.
- Negro Education in the South.* By J. D. Messick, 88
- Outdoor and Camping Education, Why?* By Lloyd B. Sharp, 313.
- Pertsch, C Frederick. *The Public School. The Common Denominator*, 433.
- Prinz, Arthur. *International Migration Movements*, 485
- Protections, Take Them Out of Their.* By James H. Hanscom, 146.
- Public Opinion and Crossfire* By Louis E. Rath and Frank N. Trager, 345.
- Public School, The. The Common Denominator* By C Frederick Pertsch, 433.
- Race Relations, The Veteran and.* By Henry A. Singer, 397
- Raths, Louis E. *Evaluation in Programs of Intercultural Education*, 25.
- , *Some Recent Researches in Helping Teachers to Understand Children*, 205.
- , and Trager, Frank N. *Public Opinion and Crossfire*, 345.
- Recent Researches in Helping Teachers to Understand Children, Some* By Louis E. Raths, 205.
- Recreation and Delinquency* By Ben Solomon, 284.
- Recreation in America, A Philosophy of* By Jay B Nash, 257
- Recreation Program, What Place Should the Federal Government Assume in the Total?* By G. Ott Romney, 301
- Recreational Theory, The Dynamics of.* By Eduard C Lindeman, 263
- Rice, Roy C. *Intergroup Relations in Arizona*, 243
- Rice, Sidney W. *Education and the Transition*, 233
- Robinson, John T. *Students and Faculty Work to Improve Life in School*, 517.
- , and Brady, Elizabeth H. *The School Culture and Educational Planning*, 499

- Role of Myths in Critical Education, The By William Isaacs and Jules Kolodny, 472.
- Romney, G. Ott What Place Should the Federal Government Assume in the Total Recreation Program? 301
- Rural Leadership—Its Origin and Development By Mrs. Charley Todd Cole, 184.
- Sanders, Irwin T. Societies Around the World, 238
- Schapiro, Leo Issue editor, Evaluation of Agencies and Programs in Intergroup Relations, Special issue, September, 1-64
- School Culture and Educational Planning, The By John T. Robinson and Elizabeth H. Brady, 499
- School Culture and Group Life Special issue, May, 497-560.
- School Culture, Sororities and the By Margaret M. Heaton, 527.
- Schooling Completed by United States Adults, Years of By Walter G. Bowerman, 338.
- Sharp, Lloyd B. Why Outdoor and Camping Education? 313
- Singer, Henry A. The Veteran and Race Relations, 397.
- Smith, Philip M. Educational Sociology and Ideological Conflict, 321
- Smucker, Orden The Campus Clique as an Agency of Specialization, 163.
- Social Art. A Community Approach. By Arthur Katona, 65
- Social Science in Inaction—Tule Lake. By Celia S. Deschin, 368
- Societies Around the World By Irwin T. Sanders, 238
- Sociology, Some Newer Methods of Teaching, By David M. Fulcomer, 154.
- Solomon, Ben Recreation and Delinquency, 284
- State's Responsibility to Local Communities By Harold D. Meyer, 307
- Stein, Abe B. Adolescent Participation in Community Coordinating Councils, 177
- Studebaker, John W. Why Not a Year-Round Educational Program? 269
- Students and Faculty Work to Improve Life in School By John I. Robinson, 517
- Students of Public School 233—, We the By Marion V. Brown, 226
- Taba, Hilda Issue editor, School Culture and Group Life, Special issue, May, 497-560
- What Is Evaluation Up to and Up Against in Intergroup Education? 19
- Taylor, Travis H. Intergroup Relations at Cosmopolitan Junior High, 220.
- Teacher Community Relationships, New Horizons in By Louis Kaplan, 417
- Trager, Frank N. and Rath, Louis E. Public Opinion and *Crossfire*, 345
- Understanding the Community Community Income and Expenditure Tables an Essential Tool By Charles M. Armstrong, 101
- Verimlye, Dyckman W., Adams, Edward L., Jr., Dreffin, William B., and Kamm, Robert B. Attitudes with Regard to Minority Groups of a Sampling of University Men Students from the Upper Socioeconomic Level, 328
- Weinland, James D. An Attempt to Measure "Cribbing" in Objective Examinations, 97
- Year-Round Educational Program, Why Not a? By John W. Studebaker, 269
- Zeligs, Rose Children's Intergroup Concepts and Stereotypes, 113

